WHO GETS THE WORK:

A TEST OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT

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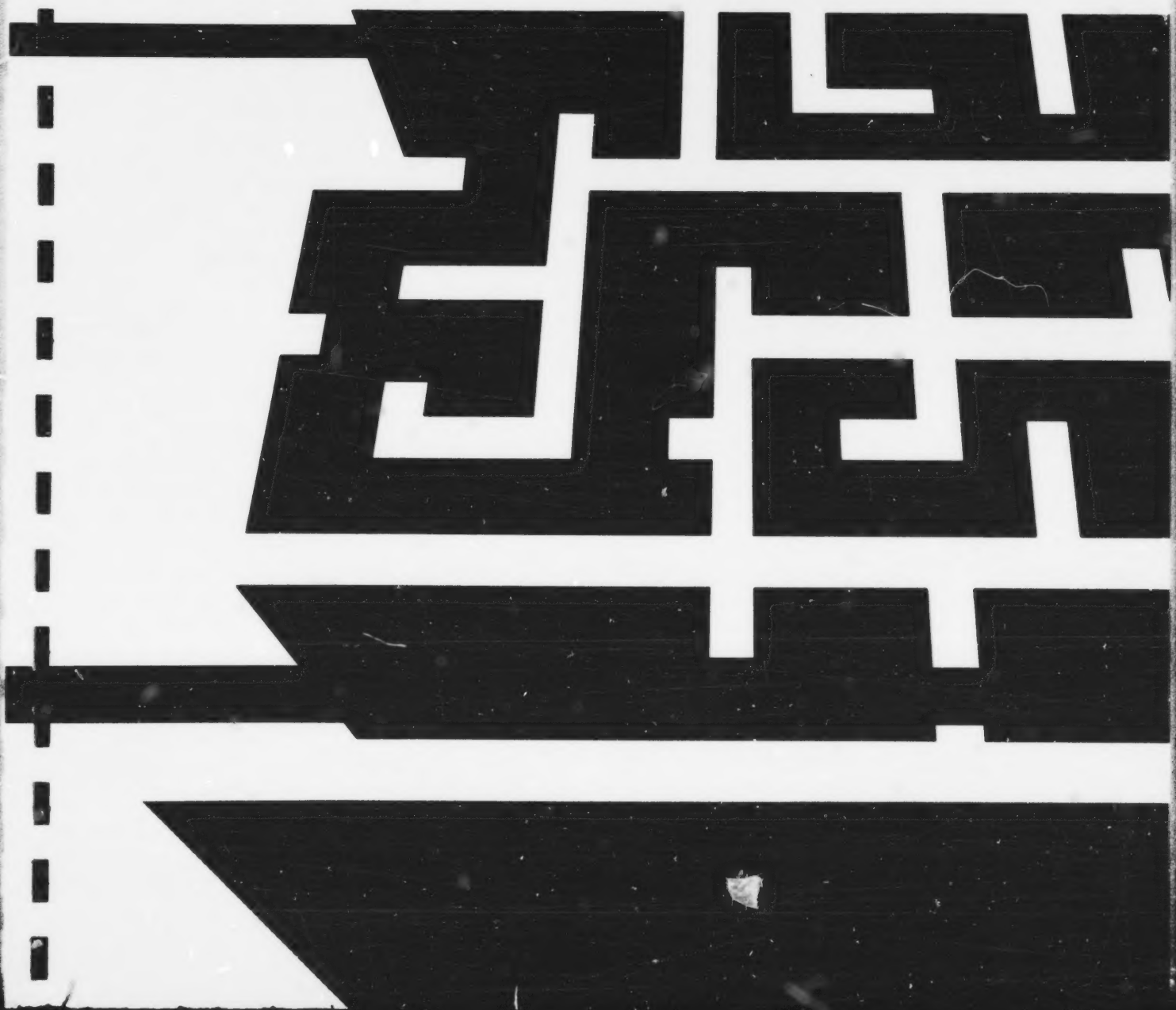

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by Frances Henry
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The Urban Alliance on Race Relations
and
The Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto

January 1985

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SUMMARY

The problems created by racial discrimination in employment have been highlighted in several studies and reports published in recent years in Canada. Most recently, the Royal Commission on Equality in Employment reported in October, 1984 that, for many groups in society – including members of visible minorities – discrimination in employment is a very real concern and one which causes pain and anxiety to many people.

The Urban Alliance on Race Relations and the Social Planning Council of Metro Toronto, both voluntary community-based organizations, have been monitoring the effects of racial discrimination on the employment process for some years. Now, with the financial support from Multiculturalism Canada, the Social Planning Council and the Urban Alliance have undertaken a large scale, systematic study of racial discrimination in employment. For the first time in Canada, there is direct and concrete evidence of some of the ways in which non-Whites are denied equal access to employment. The results of this study clearly indicate that there is very substantial discrimination affecting the ability of members of racial minority groups to find employment.

For purposes of this study, discrimination is defined as those practices or attitudes, wilful or unintentional, which have the effect of limiting an individual's or group's right to economic opportunities because of irrelevant traits such as skin colour. In this study employment discrimination as it occurs at the point of entry or selection was tested by actually sending job seekers into the employment arena. Two forms of 'field testing' were employed. First, teams of job applicants, matched with respect to age, sex, educational and employment histories were sent to answer advertisements for jobs as listed in the classified section of a major Toronto newspaper. Each applicant carried resumes which had been carefully constructed to meet the requirements of the jobs being tested. The job applicants were as similar to each other as possible and the majority of them were, in fact, professional actors who assumed the various roles required for the different jobs tested. The only major difference between the testers was that of race. Racial discrimination was said to occur when the White applicants received a greater proportion of job offers than the non-White applicants; when the White applicants were called back for a second interview in greater proportions than the non-White applicants; and, when the White applicants were treated fairly and courteously whereas the Blacks were accorded rude, negative and sometimes blatantly hostile treatment. We called these latter forms of behaviour 'differential treatment.'

The second way in which discrimination was tested was to find out if job applicants using different non-Canadian accents and 'ethnic' sounding names would be treated differently by employers over the telephone. Accordingly, four job seekers (actually 8 since we surveyed both male and female jobs), including a West Indian, an Indo-Pakistani, a White immigrant 'ethnic' and a majority White Canadian phoned a series of jobs listed in the newspaper. Occupational groupings surveyed in both the in-person direct field test and the telephone test included both blue collar and white collar occupations.

All told 201 jobs were tested by the direct in-person method and another 237 over the telephone. The results for the in-person method revealed that of 36 job offers received, the White applicant was hired 27 times and the Black applicant received only 9 offers. In another 38 cases, Blacks were treated differently to the Whites. In the most extreme cases, this differential treatment took the form of Black applicants being told that a job had been filled or was no longer available whereas the White applicants received application forms or were even interviewed by the same employer for the same job on the same day! When actual job offers and the number of times that differential treatment took place were combined, **the result of the in-person method reveal that some form of preference for Whites took place in nearly 1/4 of all job contacts** which could not have occurred by chance alone. This is clear evidence of significant levels of racial discrimination in employment. In addition, the findings of the telephone test show that **over half of the employers contacted practiced some form of discrimination against one or more of the callers.** The most significant amount of discrimination was directed at the Indo-Pakistanis who were told that jobs were closed or no longer available in nearly 44% of the cases. The Black West Indians were told that jobs were closed to them in 36% of the cases. The White Immigrant Canadians scored 31%, while the White Majority Canadians were told that jobs were closed to them in only 13% of the cases tested.

These results were analyzed so that a ratio of discrimination could be constructed. The ratio includes the results from both the in-person testing as well as the telephone test but only for Blacks as compared to Whites. (Indo-Pakistanis and others were not included in the in-person test.) Taken together it was found Blacks have a 64% chance of getting through a telephone screening procedure which means that out of every 20 job contracts, they can secure 13 interviews. Of these, their chances of actually obtaining an offer is only one out of twenty. Whites, on the other hand, pass through the telephone screening 87% of the time and manage to achieve 17 interviews out of 20. They have a chance of receiving an offer three times out of every twenty interviews. **The overall ratio of discrimination is therefore 3 to 1. Whites have three job prospects to every one for Blacks.** There is therefore a clear preference by a large proportion of Toronto employers for White employees.

The findings of this study clearly indicate that there is a considerable amount of racial discrimination in employment in Toronto and probably elsewhere in Canada. While we cannot, within the confines of a research report, discuss at any length the policy implications of such findings, it is quite clear that governments as well as the private sector must carefully re-evaluate the ways in which the labour market works against non-White members of this society. When job seekers, well trained and qualified for the positions they seek, are consistently denied equal access to employment because of the colour of their skins or foreign accents rather than a consideration of their true abilities, our society loses the productive value of many of its members. The victims of discrimination themselves become alienated and frustrated. And we know from the experiences of other countries such as Great Britain that such feelings can lead to social unrest and disorder which no society can justify or endure.

PREFACE

This research study on the effects of racial discrimination in employment came about as a result of the concerns of two organizations in Toronto. Both the Urban Alliance on Race Relations, a voluntary community-based group, and the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto have had a long standing interest in monitoring the effects of discrimination in employment practices. Accordingly, a research proposal sponsored by both groups and designed by Dr. Frances Henry of York University acting for the Urban Alliance and Leon Muszynski, Program Director of the Social Planning Council, was undertaken. Funding for the project was granted by the Multiculturalism Directorate of the Secretary of State.

The analysis of discrimination in employment is hampered in Canada by the fact that very little systematic direct research has been carried out on this subject. The evidence for discrimination is at best indirect and fragmented, especially because much of it relies on census data. Since the census does not question as to the race of the respondent, much of the analysis is of necessity conjectural. This study proposes to add to our knowledge of racial discrimination in employment in Canada, or more specifically, in Toronto by:

- systematically researching the experiences of non-Whites relative to Whites in their job search efforts (Phase I) and:

- by examining the racial composition of work forces and the attitudes and practices of employers in dealing with non-Whites. (Phase II)

The present report deals with Phase I of the project:

This study of racial discrimination in employment was guided by two questions. I.) Is there a difference in the number of jobs offered to White and Black applicants of similar backgrounds when they applied for the same job? and II.) Are there any differences in the ways in which White and Black applicants are treated during the contact or interview situation with the employer. Both questions were tested by means of direct person-to-person job applications and also by telephone inquiries by persons using 'foreign' accents and names asking if an advertised job was still available. Differential treatment was also tested by applicants observing and noting how they were treated in the direct face-to-face encounter with the employer as they applied for advertised jobs. The research technique known as field-testing was used in this project.

Phase II is based on interviews conducted with directors and personnel managers of 200 medium and large sized firms in Toronto during which their experiences and employment practices with respect to non-White employees were questioned. The report of Phase II will be released later this year.

INTRODUCTION

Monica, a young woman in her mid-twenties, spent most of this past Spring hunting for a job in Metro Toronto. She had completed high school and had several jobs in the city. Most recently, she had been a waitress and since she enjoyed the work and the tips were good, she decided to try for a better job. An ad in the newspaper caught her eye. It asked for a pleasant, experienced person to work as a waiter or waitress in a downtown bistro. The next morning, Monica visited the restaurant. A waiter met her by the door and directed her to the bar. He told the man in the back of the restaurant that she had come about the job. The man, the owner, walked forward, barely looked at her and gave her an application. The waiter went into the back, and on returning told Monica that the owner had said to simply leave the application with him. She thanked the waiter and left the restaurant. A short time later, Jane, another young woman also in her mid-twenties, answered the same ad. As she entered the restaurant, the waiter approached and when he discovered that she wanted to apply for the job, he went to the back and called the owner. The owner approached Jane smiling and politely shook her hand as he escorted her to an empty table. As he told her about the job, he gave her an application form and even offered her a pen. She filled it in as he sat talking to her. She gave him the form which he briefly looked over, commenting that she had just the experience he was looking for. As she left, he smiled again and told her that he would be calling for a second interview as soon as he had seen a few more applicants.

Jack, in his early thirties, with considerable sales and managerial experience to his credit, was also job hunting this Spring. An ad asking for an assistant manager of a small retail shop on Yonge Street appealed to him because the salary was higher than what he had been earning. Jack arrived at the shop one morning and was perfunctorily greeted by the woman positioned behind the cash register. Jack asked to see the manager about the job. The woman quickly said the person who was leaving had changed his mind. She suggested that Jack try upstairs, or "down the street" for another job. When Jack asked if she knew of vacancies at these other establishments, she said no, but there might always be a chance. Jack left the shop.

Later that day, David, who had a similar background to Jack also applied for the position of assistant manager. He was told that the manager would be with him shortly. The manager arrived a few minutes later, made some small talk with David and then asked if he had a resume. When it was produced, he looked it over and told David that he would consider him for the position and would be in touch "within the next few days."

Are these merely stories about the difficulties in obtaining employment in a tight market? What has created the difference in the treatment of the two pairs of job applicants? Monica and Jack are Black and were treated with indifference and in fact, dishonestly. Jane and David on the other hand, are White and both were treated far more courteously than the Black pair. All four were participating in our study of racial discrimination in employment. All four were professional actors playing the roles of job-seekers.

For the first time in Canada, this study tests racial discrimination in employment by actually sending job applicants to advertised positions in order to find out if Black and White job seekers are treated differently by employers. This large scale research study examined more than 200 jobs. For each job, two people, one Black and the other White, matched with respect to age, education, experience and other variables, were sent to apply for the position. In addition, another 237 jobs were tested over the telephone by four different applicants. Each applicant assumed a different ethnic accent and name but one caller was a 'majority Canadian' who used a standard Anglo Saxon name and no discernable foreign accent. All inquired about the availability of the same job and the results clearly show that employers reacted differently to the majority Canadian as compared to the three ethnic applicants.

All told then, well over 400 jobs were tested in this study and the results clearly indicate that Whites were offered significantly more jobs than Blacks and were treated with more attention and courtesy than were Black job applicants.* The telephone aspect of the study showed that the Canadian was told a job was open and available in 90% of all cases whereas the ethnic callers were told far more frequently that the job had been taken. These and other results, analyzed in greater detail later in this report, show definitively that there is a significant amount of racial discrimination in employment in Canada. They confirm the conclusions reached by two recently published government reports which also focused on discrimination in employment and other forms of racial discrimination.

In The Royal Commission Report, "Equality in Employment," for example, Judge Abella, its author, writes that: "Ignoring differences and refusing to accommodate them is a denial of equal access and opportunity. It is discrimination. To reduce discrimination, we must create and maintain barrier-free environments so that individuals can have genuine access free from arbitrary obstructions to demonstrate and exercise fully their potential," (1).

The report is based upon the results of representations and submissions from persons and groups throughout the country, and it states openly that "Non-Whites" all across Canada complained of racism. They undeniably face discrimination, both overt and indirect. (2). And, in another government report published earlier, brief after brief submitted to the all Parliamentary Committee on Visible Minorities in Canadian Society, complained that non-Whites simply do not have the same access to employment as do other more privileged members of society. The Committee's report, **Equality Now,** specifically emphasized the area of employment in its recommendations, (3). Both reports note that a form of affirmative action is the only strategy designed to provide equal access to employment to all members of society regardless of their gender, religion, ethnicity, physical status or race.

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*In the direct in person field testing, Black applicants and White applicants were used. In the telephone testing, three ethnic callers were used. We have used the terms "Black" and "Non-White" interchangeably.

Before describing the present study in greater detail, it would be useful to survey the literature on employment discrimination in Canada. The review of the literature will demonstrate that other measures of discrimination have been used in past studies but none have been able to actually test the job market by comparing the success rate of White and non-Whites in their job search efforts.

The Evidence for Racial Discrimination in Canada:* Review of the Literature

Attempts to examine and research racial discrimination in Canada consist of three types of studies: socio-economic and demographic research (often based upon census data); studies which are based upon observations and experiences as reported by the victims themselves, and finally, attitudinal surveys. Studies based upon the census are particularly difficult to interpret because the census does not use race as an identifying characteristic. Thus, ethnic and racial groups are often combined making it difficult to generalize results for any particular group. The inadequate data on race "makes it difficult to accurately measure the participation of some minorities in the labour force," (4). Thus, such basic criteria as income levels, sector as well as general labour force participation, employment rates, etc., are difficult to assess. Nevertheless, Abella using unpublished 1981 census data, shows for example, that "Black males, especially those arriving after 1970, seem to have a lower economic level than other males" (and) the disparity between the incomes of Caribbean males and the national average for all males was 11 pecent. (5) The disparities were greater in Ontario and Quebec, where the majority of Caribbean immigrants are concentrated. For example, Haitian men in Quebec had an unemployment rate nearly 75% higher than the provincial average for men.

Amongst other groups, the Vietnamese who are the most recent non-White arrivals in this country were also in the lowest income groups. In an earlier study, Goldlust and Richmond analyzed the 1969-70 census data and found that a combined group consisting of Blacks and Asians earned nearly $3,000 less than other immigrant groups matched for education, job status and years in Toronto, (6). The Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto undertook an analysis of the 1976 census data and found that persons who are of Indo-Pakistani origin have an unemployment rate of 12% or double the average unemployment rate for Metro Toronto as a whole, (7). A more recent study by Reitz et. al, based on interview rather than census data, found that West Indian men and women earned significantly less than other ethnic group members. When factors such as education, knowledge of English and work experience were controlled, West Indians still under-earned compared to other immigrants with similar characteristics. Even those West Indians employed as professionals in high status occupations were earning less than their White Canadian counterparts, (8). The fact that discrimination appears to affect the educated as well as the lesser educated is also supported by a study submitted to the Ontario Human Rights Commission, (9). Masters of Business Administration graduates who were members of a visible minority group earned on the average $3,000 less than their White counterparts. Visible minority MBA graduates were also vastly under-represented in senior management positions.

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*The evidence for racial discrimination in the U.S. and Great Britain is presented in Appendix A.

Both members of racial minority groups and the majority of White Canadians believe that racism and/or discrimination exists in Canada. Seventy-two percent of Black West Indians interviewed in one study believed that racial discrimination in employment is experienced by their group, while 28% reported that they had personally been the victim of discrimination in an employment situation, (10). Amongst Chinese respondents, nearly 28% reported that they had been discriminated against. A large majority of White Canadians in Toronto – 80% – believe that visible minorities face racial discrimination. And both minority as well as White MBA graduates surveyed in the study noted above believed that visible minorities must perform better than their White counterparts to achieve the same level of success.

The extent of discrimination, as reflected in socio-economic indices as well as in the perceptions of minority (and majority) members of society, is evident by the number of complaints made to the Ontario Human Rights Commission. There were 392 cases of discrimination in employment filed in 1982-83. Of these, 83% were based on race and the remainder on national origins, (11). More striking are the federal Human Rights statistics. From 1978 to May 1983, 50.8% of the complaints filed by the Canadian Human Rights Commission citing race or colour were related to problems affecting employment. Another 19% of race related complaints referred to discriminatory practices by employers, (12). But, since many victims of discrimination do not complain, or are sometimes not aware that they have been discriminated against, Human Rights figures only show what is the tip of an iceberg.

Attitudinal surveys with respect to race related problems have been conducted amongst the majority populations in order to assess their perceptions and attitudes towards non-White groups. A study conducted in Toronto in 1978 found that a majority of White Torontonians held some degree of racist beliefs towards Blacks and Indo-Pakistanis. Nearly 16% were extremely racist, while another 33% held "somewhat" racist attitudes, (13). Other attitude surveys conducted elsewhere in Canada also demonstrate that racist attitudes are held by a significant portion of the population. With little variation, the percentages seem to fall between 16% and 20%, (14).

The evidence for widespread systematic racial discrimination in employment is thus fairly compelling. The findings of studies noted here (and elsewhere) provide evidence that non-Whites are at a disadvantage in the labour market. The problems with many of these studies however, is that they either rely on other socio-economic indicators such as earnings reported to the census or, on interviews conducted with victims themselves, in which they verbally report their experiences. They are at best indirect measures of the problem since they do not, by themselves, prove that discrimination exists. Critics maintain that differences in income, occupational status and even the self-reportage of people who claim discrimination may be related to social and cultural factors which have little to do with discriminatory barriers in the employment system. These studies do not "prove" that discrimination based on race actually exists, nor do they tell us how much and how often discrimination takes place. In fact, the analysis of the employment experiences of minorities in Toronto, indeed in the entire country, has been severely hampered by the lack of systematic and concrete evidence of the ways in which discrimination affects the employment experience of individuals. The present study, based on a direct measurement of

discrimination, provides for the first time in this country, hard data to show that discrimination based on race exists at various levels of the labour market. It also provides evidence of the patterning or various forms that discrimination can take.

What is Discrimination?

At its simplest level, discrimination merely means making a choice, and making choices is an essential part of everyday life for individuals and organizations. These simple choices are governed by a myriad of factors including attitudes, traditions, rules and regulations and combinations of all of these. When these factors have the effect of limiting the opportunities of certain classes or groups of people because of their sex, physical status, race, religion or national origin, the problem of discrimination arises.

In the area of employment, discrimination can take place at any point in the employment process. It may exist in areas such as recruitment, screening, selection, promotions and firings. At the level of recruitment for example, non-Whites may not have access to job information because word of mouth recruitment is frequently used within a basically White employment pool which then tends to recreate itself. At the level of selection, discrimination against non-Whites often takes place when job applicants are required to call upon a person for an initial interview. To the extent that this person practices racial discrimination, or has been told to screen out non-Whites as a matter of company policy, non-Whites will not get beyond this preliminary screening process. Similarly, in terms of promotional practices, non-Whites may be hired in lower level jobs but their promotion through the ranks is effectively stopped by discriminatory barriers to their mobility.

A very simple form of discrimination is expressed through acts of ill will on the part of the employers. Studies done by the Canadian Civil Liberties Association have shown that employers who wish to maintain a White labour force can use employment agencies to screen out those applicants considered undesirable, (15). Such employers may be motivated by racial prejudice and sterotypical thinking. Employers or personnel managers may refuse to interview or, in fact, hire, non-Whites because they view them as inferior, lazy, uneducated or untrustworthy.

Discrimination in employment may also be manifested through unequal treatment where employers' apparently neutral actions result in differential treatment of whole groups of people on the basis of such criteria as sex, race or ethnic origin. Unequal pay for similar or the same work of equal value is a classic example of unequal treatment. Such practices may have been established for some other reason and have become incorporated into the entire employment system where they now serve to exclude minority employees as well as other disadvantaged members of society. Discrimination is sometimes unintentional and inadvertent rather than maliciously wilful. Employers may not realize that their practices and policies have the effect of excluding non-Whites. Using standard tests of personality or intelligence to select employees, employers may put certain minority persons at a great disadvantage because they come from a culture different from the one for which the test was designed. Requiring Canadian experience or even in some cases, knowledge of English, may disqualify minority applicants when in fact such requirements may be unrelated to the performance of a particular job.

Thus discriminatory practices and policies are complex and vary from situation to situation. The literature on the subject reveals many possible definitions of the term

and ways in which it can be applied, (16). For the purposes of this study, however, we will define **discrimination in employment as referring to those practices or attitudes wilful or unintentional, which have the effect of limiting an individual or group's right to economic opportunities, based on irrelevant traits such as skin colour rather than an evaluation of their true abilities or potential.**

Discrimination and the ways in which it can be carried out are numerous; however, the present study concentrates essentially on the entry point and/or selection procedure. In this study, the dynamics of discrimination are studied as discriminatory practices occur, i.e. when a job seeker makes either an inquiry on the phone or comes in person to be interviewed by the employer or his agent. It is at this point that the applicant can run into a prejudiced employer or gatekeeper who either presumes that non-Whites are not desired or is merely acting according to the company policy. The telephone inquiry is particularly crucial at this stage since it is often the first approach made by a job applicant. An individual can be screened out - that is, told either that the job is filled or that the caller's qualifications are not sufficient - quickly and efficiently. Various devices of screening out undesirable employees at the point of face to face contact can also be readily employed. In order to find out if Whites and non-Whites are treated differently when they make their first efforts at contacting an employer, the technique or method of field testing was employed.

The Technique of Field Testing*

The need for a direct measure of racial discrimination in employment as opposed to the indirect measures noted earlier led us to use the technique of field testing. Field testing has had a long history in the analysis of social problems. It was first used by LaPiere in his famous study of the relationship of attitudes and behaviour conducted in the United States in 1934, (17). In that study, LaPiere travelled across the United States in the company of a Chinese couple stopping at hotels, auto camps, tourist homes and restaurants. They were refused service only once, but when LaPiere sent letters asking if they would accommodate or serve members of the Chinese race, 91% of the replies were in the negative. This study shows that it is easier to discriminate indirectly, rather than directly, as our telephone survey results also indicate.*

Direct in person field testing when applied to employment is an experimental or quasi–experimental technique whereby a pair of job applicants matched with respect to age, sex, educational and employment histories are sent to answer advertisements for jobs. The applicants are as matched as possible and the major difference between them in this instance was race. For the purposes of this aspect of the study, racial discrimination in employment can be said to occur:

- when the White applicants received a greater proportion of job offers than the non–White applicants.
- when the White applicants are called back for an interview in greater proportions than the non–Whites.
- when the White applicant is treated courteously while the non–White is treated rudely, negatively or, in fact with hostility. These patterns of treatment have been termed 'differential treatment' in this study and include:
  - treating the White courteously as evidenced by hand shaking, making small talk, offering an application form, seeing the applicant to the door, speaking to the applicant in a warm and friendly manner while the Black applicant receives none of the courtesies.
  - when the White applicant is told that the job is available and asked to fill out an application and/or leave a resume or, is given an interview on the spot (or sometimes told to return at an appointed time for an interview) while the Black applicant has already been told, usually by the same employer or contact person, that the same job has been filled.

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*As this study was being planned, some concern was expressed about the legal aspects of this technique. Sending false job applicants could be considered to be entrapment, since the employer is not aware that they were, in fact, researchers. Entrapment could only occur if legal procedures were then applied to discriminatory employers. Since no such action was taken, and in fact none of the employers surveyed in this study are in any way identified, entrapment cannot be said to have taken place.

(Other patterns of differential treatment are described in a later section.) When these patterns of differential treatment have taken place, no offer of a job is made to the non-White.

Field testing is particularly useful to assess racial discrimination because indirect measures mentioned earlier usually underestimate the extent of racial discrimination. This is particularly the case when non-White minorities tend to avoid situations where they know or suspect that they will be discriminated against. Secondly, minority members are not always aware that discrimination on the basis of race has taken place. A non-White person may apply for a job, be told that the job is filled or that their qualifications are not suitable. Without a 'test' of that situation, the minority person will not really know if he or she has been told the truth. Given the economic constraints operating in the employment arena today where an ad for a simple sales job will bring in as many as 100 qualified applicants, rejections are rarely questioned. The converse is, however, also true in that some members of racial minorities may report discrimination where, in fact, it did not exist.

Studies which rely on the self-reportage of victims are, therefore, not very reliable indicators of discrimination. In Canada, field testing has been used in a small number of investigations conducted by the Canadian Civil Liberties Association noted earlier, (18). In their study of employment agencies, members of the association posed as employers requesting only White personnel in order to find out if agencies accepted discriminatory requests. (Nine out of twelve agencies surveyed did so.) These studies are limited however, by the small size of the sample. In both Great Britain and the United States, field testing has been used extensively as a research strategy in order to test the dynamics of discrimination, (19). Field experimentation or testing by actually demonstrating the accessibility of jobs to Whites and non-Whites as well as the different ways in which they might be treated during the contact or interview situation is, therefore, the most effective research technique to use in order to accurately determine the level of racial discrimination in employment.

Method Employed

Three different aspects of field testing were attempted in this study. These were: direct In-Person field testing of jobs listed in the newspapers; surveying jobs by calling telephone numbers listed in job advertisements and correspondence testing, whereby resumes were sent to firms advertising for employees.* In-Person direct testing will be described first, followed by the results of the telephone surveying.

Using the technique of direct in-person field testing, we created four teams of matched applicants. Each team consisted of one White and one Black applicant. The teams were matched with respect to age and sex, thus there were two teams of men, young and older, and two teams of women, a young and older one. The young men and women in their early twenties were directed towards jobs in which neither an advanced level of education, nor varied job experiences were required. The older teams, in their thirties, were directed at jobs which required either some post-secondary education or a fairly sophisticated job history. The younger teams had completed high school, usually at a technical high school, whereas the older teams had some post-secondary additional training. Since we were not directly measuring the effects of sex discrimination, the men were sent to traditionally 'male' jobs, whereas the women were sent to jobs usually considered 'female' jobs. In some job categories, sex differences are not important and when an ad asked for 'waiters/waitresses', men or women and sometimes both were sent, but not to the same job.

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*In order to test the middle income range jobs for which university degrees and substantial past job experience were requirements we planned to use correspondence testing. Such positions include program and systems analysts, hospital administrators, engineers, finance and marketing personnel, etc. Such career positions almost always require submission of a resume before any personal contact with the firm takes place. Very detailed resumes for a number of frequently advertised career positions were prepared and mailed to the box numbers or addresses listed in the ads. Three resumes, one each for a Canadian, an Immigrant and an East or West Indian were used. Unfortunately, the results were disappointing in that many employers did not even acknowledge receipt of the resume thereby making several test cases unusable. This was, we suspect, partly the result of the tight labour market where hundreds of resumes are received by any one employer making the job of answering each, very time-consuming. Some firms may also not bother answering those in whom they are not interested, unlike in Great Britain where this technique has been successfully used in several studies. Answering or acknowledging resumes is standard employer practice in Britain, but probably less so in North America. In any case, because of the low, as well as slow response rate, this technique was dropped from our study. (See Appendix D for details.)

Each researcher used an assumed name and an address belonging to someone affiliated with the research project, rather than their own. They carried several different resumes, one for each job sector being tested. The senior men for example, had resumes describing themselves as experienced in sales for sales type jobs; managerial experience for jobs asking for retail and wholesale managers, etc. The junior women carried resumes describing themselves as skilled in waitressing, in fast food type outlets, retail selling in shops that cater to the youth market, and in cashiering. The resumes for Whites and Blacks were carefully matched with respect to age, education, hobbies, leisure time activities, and previous job experience. The Blacks were assumed to be Canadians since their education and job experience were described as taking place in Canada, specifically in and around Toronto. We particularly wanted to avoid labelling the Black applicant as West Indian, or as an immigrant or a foreigner since we were attempting to test for the effects of race, rather than ethnicity. (A different approach was used in the telephone surveying: race, ethnic origins and national origins were being tested; see below.) In order to make sure that there were no inadvertent differences in the resumes, they were switched halfway through the testing period. Thus, the Black applicant took his or her White partner's resume and vice-versa. We contacted a number of employers and business people known to members of the research project and elicited their support in agreeing to have their names used as professional or personal referees to be included on the resumes. These individuals had copies of the resumes and were told something about the applicants. Each resume included, therefore, legitimate references so that employers could, in fact, check either the employment record or personal charactersitics of the applicants. In point of fact only two employers checked references and some job offers were received on the spot, immediately after the first interview.

The testers were carefully chosen so that they were as alike as possible. For example, they were physically alike with respct to height, weight and age. They followed a dress code so both members of a team would be dressed in a manner commensurate with the jobs they were applying for. Both sets of women used similar amounts of makeup and jewelry. Training sessions were held with all the testers in order to ensure that their demeanor as they interacted with employers was as similar as possible with respect to language used, questions asked, and the general way in which they conducted themselves.

The effects of personality were more difficult to match, but we did make sure that neither person was outstandingly different from his or her partner in matters of aggressiveness, eagerness, competitiveness and the like. In a number of instances however, subtle differences in personality may have affected the results. The most obvious case occurred amongst the junior men where the Black youth had a more pleasing personality than his White partner. He therefore received two more offers than did his partner and more than any other Black tester with the exception of the senior Black woman who was also considered to be exceptionally attractive. (When we changed the junior White partner to one whose personality and appearance more closely matched the attractive Black youth, the number of White offers in this category slightly increased.) On the other hand, one of the two senior Black men was exceptionally outgoing and friendly, probably more so than his White partner, yet he did not receive large numbers of job offers and in a few cases was seriously slighted.

In conclusion, the slight difference that personality might have made was probably randomized in the overall results since a pleasant personality favoured results for one but not the other. In addition, in order to randomize out other differences among the testers, the personnel in each team were changed during the course of the testing. In all, 14 testers were used among the four teams.

In addition to matching them physically and with respect to personality, the senior teams of men and women had one other characteristic in common. They were all professionally trained actors. Our assumption was that the senior teams would be applying for jobs of a fairly sophisticated nature, e.g. as retail managers, as salespersons in expensive retail boutiques and even as restaurant staff in classy restaurants. They would therefore be interviewed at some length and with some intensity by a prospective employer. Actors of course are trained to play roles and in these testing cases, role playing was certainly required. They were thus easily able to adopt the role of store manager, especially when their back-up resumes indicated experience in that area. Using actors proved to be particularly successful because, as one of them put it: "When I get dressed in my suit and tie, carry my briefcase and leave the house to apply for a job, I really feel like the junior executive or store manager I'm supposed to be." By easily assuming a role, they also became highly motivated to secure the job. They worked hard at being selected because something of their own egos became involved in the process.

The junior teams applying for semi-skilled and unskilled jobs were high school and university students who were used to applying for the very same kinds of jobs being tested in the study. For this level of job therefore, acting skills were not considered necessary.

Research Procedure

Jobs were selected each evening from the classified ads in the major newspaper in Toronto. Only those job listings which required no verification were used. For example, drivers or couriers were automatically excluded because driving licenses and driving records would be checked. Similarly, jobs which required detailed or technical skills were also omitted; for example, hairdressers, dental technicians, dental and medical secretaries, construction jobs such as bricklayers, masons and the like. Each evening the two researchers read the ads, selected about five for each team to contact the following day. The testers were then phoned and given the next days selected assignments. Each pair would meet at an appointed place and they generally worked together. Where a job listing gave only a telephone number, both team members would phone in the morning and attempt to set up an appointment within one hour of each other. It was important that interviews be closely spaced together, otherwise the chance of a job being legitimately filled would have increased. When a listing gave an address, both members would visit the establishment approximately one half hour apart. The Black member of each team usually went first, but this was not always possible to arrange, particularly when appointments were made by phone. (This did not have any effect on our results however, since we ran into only one case where the White applicant applied first, and got the job before the Black applicant could apply.)*

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*It is important to stress that all testers used 'Canadian' accents since we did not want them to be screened out over the phone. Even so, some attempts at screening were made, but our tester's resumes were so well matched to the job that they were all able to respond to questions about past experiences without difficulty. There were, therefore, no cases where the Black applicant was screened out, whereas the White was told to come for an interview. This screening occurred very frequently in our telephone surveying where accents and 'foreign' sounding names were used to establish the fact that the testers were either non–Canadian or non–White.

When an applicant had completed an interview, a summary fact sheet, specially developed for this project, was completed. It included not only the name, address, type of job and other details about the job itself, but also asked the applicant for a detailed description of everything that went on in the interview. Team members compared notes at the end of a day or work session to see if any differences in treatment had taken place. After both members of a team had completed an interview, the case, as far as they were concerned, was over. Since an ad might attract as many as 100 or more applicants, employers use a fairly elaborate screening process in order to select the candidates they want for the job. For our purposes, this meant that it might take as long as a week or more for a response to be made to either one of our applicants. If an interview did not conclude with an offer or if there was no subsequent phone-back from the employer (which occurred in many of our cases) then neither of our applicants was successful. (These cases, while they did not present evidence for discrimination on the basis of hiring, did however, offer much in the way of showing that discrimination had occurred by the differential treatment which took place during the interviews.) If there was an interest on the part of an employer to hire one of our applicants or to call them back for a second interview, a phone call was made to the number listed on the applicant's resume. In most cases, about four days to a week elapsed from the time of the interview to a phone-back, although in a few instances, applicants were phoned back very much later than their interview. This occurred when the White applicant was phoned back with an offer or call to a second interview, and very much later the Black applicant was phoned for the same job. (These cases have been described as preferential treatment (see below) since the employer preferred first the White applicant, and then possibly hired another applicant, who may not have been satisfactory, before calling back for our Black tester.)

Two phone lines were installed in the researcher's office – one number was listed on all the Black tester resumes and the other was listed by the Whites. Both lines were in fact monitored by the researcher's secretary who had a complete set of names and facts about the testers. She was instructed to answer the phone by saying "Hello. No Jay is not here now, may I take a message for him?" This system worked well and most employers or their representatives did leave messages. (Occasionally, a caller refused to leave a message, but his happened rarely. Sometimes, the secretary would be asked questions such as who she was or what sort of person was Jay and so on. She would answer by saying that she was his or her friend, just taking messages while Jay was at work or looking for a job. She used common sense to answer more personal questions!) The researcher collected messages at least twice a day. Employers were called back immediately or as soon as possible by the researcher who said that Jay had accepted another job or was not interested in that particular job, or words to that effect. Thus, the employer could quickly go on to another applicant.

The call back, either with a job offer or for another interview, marked the conclusion of the case. In sum then, the procedure followed was: selecting ads, phoning or visiting for an appointment, having an interview where usually an application form was filled out and then, waiting for a call back. (Unless, of course, an offer was made on the spot which occurred in 13 cases. When an on the spot offer was made, our testers were instructed to accept the job. They would then phone back within about two hours to say that they had either changed their mind or a better offer had come up.)

Data collection for this study took 3½ months and in that time, the field testers applied for 201 jobs, for a total of 402 applications. Each team, working anywhere from 2–4 hours per day could arrange for two to three interviews. More hours would have been too draining for the testers. On some days, no arrangements could be made. There were also occasional periods when not enough appropriate job listings appeared in the papers. The testers could also follow up on any window signs which they noticed as they travelled about the city. The junior teams did that fairly frequently. For some jobs, difficulties in coordinating the schedules of the two applicants with that of the employer or interviewer meant that much time was wasted. In one instance, a job category had to be dropped entirely. The case was that of building superintendent and since there are a sizeable number of listings in that category almost every day, we had hoped to be able to test it in our sample. The job usually calls for a couple to live in the building, but when we sent out our testers as married couples, we found that arranging interviews with the employers who did not live on the premises themselves became so time consuming that we choose to omit the job category.

Once per week, 'debriefing' sessions were held with the testers and the two researchers. Each completed fact sheet was discussed and analyzed. These sessions also allowed feelings and ideas to be expressed among the testers. The Black testers, particularly the younger women, were sometimes overwhelmed by the numbers of rejections they encountered in such a short and an intense period of time. Although they had all experienced discrimination in some form in their real lives, experiencing rejection so often and sometimes so brutally left them feeling angry and hurt. One young Black woman who had started on the project soon found that her work time conflicted with domestic duties. She resigned after two weeks of work but commented that it was probably just as well since the several rejections she had already received made her feel dejected and hurt. "I was beginning to wonder what was wrong with me and why was Jean (the White tester) so much better than me?" Another Black woman on the project had been particularly successful in her recent career and she too found herself becoming resentful and angry. The debriefing sessions were thus useful in defusing some of the hostility and pain experienced by the Black testers who were treated so differently from their White counterparts.

Limitations of the Method

This quasi–experimental design – field–testing, has methodological weaknesses as does any research technique. One of the main limitations of this approach is that not every job classification could be tested. As noted earlier, jobs which require verification or very specialized skills do not lend themselves to this type of research. We were, therefore, limited to such jobs as sales, the retail and restaurant trade, managerial as well as semi– an unskilled kinds of jobs. On the other hand, it can be argued that these are the very jobs that a considerable number of both White and particularly non–White job seekers are applying for. We were, for example, able to test the majority of jobs that the important 18–25 year old group with only secondary (and perhaps some technical) education normally apply for. Thus, while not all classified ads could be tested, the ones that were included in this study are especially significant to a substantial number of job seekers. Although we were not able to test all sectors, we compared the numbers of listings per job sector (e.g. the number of listings for waiters) which were published during the course of one week with the

numbers in our own sample. Our sample therefore was fairly representative of the classified listings. In addition, upper income career positions cannot be tested with this method, since each position required mailed resumes as a first step. Since our attempt to apply correspondence testing failed, (see Appendix D), we were unable to test discrimination at the upper levels of the labour market.

Another limitation of this aspect of the study, although not related to the technique of field testing, was that only discrimination against Blacks was tested. Constraints imposed by time and financial resources prevented the inclusion of Indo-Pakistanis, Orientals and other racial minorities. The telephone testing described below did, however, test for different racial and ethnic groups. While the telephone testing could not include a personal interview, so that the employer could not actually see that the applicant was non-White, the combination of using 'ethnic names' as well as different accents was enough to indicate that an applicant was either non-White or non-Canadian born.

And finally, we come to the third and perhaps most important criticism which can be directed against the approach used in this study. To what extent did our field testing actually test for racial discrimination related factors? Here we must rely on a number of methological factors. For example, we did everything possible to hold constant the effects of intervening variables. This was done by changing around testers, changing resumes and keeping as close to an consistant scenario of how employers were to be approached, as possible. We also made sure that our testers and their resumes were competitive in terms of the labour market. That we were fairly successful in this is demonstrated by the fact that our testers (both White and Black) received forty-six legitimate job offers.

Field testing is a quasi-experimental technique which tries to replicate laboratory conditions. In the laboratory setting, all intervening variables can theoretically be controlled. In real life however, this is not possible, and therefore a research design attempts, to identify and control as many variables as possible. By adequate sampling, the damaging effects of potentially intervening variables are randomized out and should not affect overall results. In this study, 201 successful cases were achieved (or in fact, 402 contacts), a sample large enough to permit control for intervening variables.

Results of the Study: Direct In-Person Testing

A - Introduction: Jobs Surveyed

In this study of racial discrimination in employment, inequality was tested in a variety of work settings. Occupational groupings tested included: 1) blue collar, unskilled or semi-skilled jobs; 2) white collar jobs such as retail sales positions and 3) middle-level white collar jobs such as managers of small to medium sized firms. The three occupational groupings were tested by means of the direct in-person test as well as in the telephone testing.

Our final in-person direct field testing sample consisted of 201 cases. Since each case involved two testers, there were actually 402 job contacts made in the direct in-person aspect of the study. (Twenty-six additional cases were contacted but the job had already been filled by the time one of our testers was able to arrange for an interview.) Not all jobs listed in the newspaper were appropriate to study. Jobs which required certification or licensing or which required a degree of specialized skill had to be excluded. The range of jobs which were left after these exclusions included many in the restaurant business, retail sales, retail management and the like. In order to ensure that our sample was not biased towards any particular occupational grouping, we compared the percentage of jobs in our sample with the actual newspaper listings as they were published during the course of one week. Table I shows the results:

Table I

Type and Frequency of Jobs Called

Job	% in Sample	% of Newspaper Listing
Retail Restaurant and Food Trades	45.3	42
Retail	31.8	38
Managerial	8.5	9
Cashiers	7.5	5
General Unskilled	7.0	6
Total	100%	100%

Our sample compares favorably with jobs as they are published in the newspaper. It is, therefore, fairly representative of what has been available in the labour market at any recent point in time.

Restaurant work and retail sales accounted for the majority of our cases, but these also accounted for a substantial number of all the newspaper listings. Within these job sectors, further distinctions can be made. Many jobs in the restaurant sector were for waiters/waitresses, cooks and counterhelp. The latter jobs usually were for younger and relatively unskilled people. Cooks vary from those working in fast-food outlets to experienced chefs working in prestige restaurants. Even waiting staff requirements differed according to the class of the restaurant. In this study, fast-food cooks, counterhelp and waiters and waitresses in fast-food 'family type' restaurants were considered to be 'semi-skilled' and were tested by our younger teams. Serving staff and hosts/hostesses for prestige restaurants called for considerable training and/or prior job experience and were tested by our older teams. Positions for cooks and chefs for prestige, that is, expensive restaurants were not tested, since these call for a very high level of skill. Similar distinctions can be made in the sales sector. Sales personnel required for prestige boutiques and shops usually requested considerable experience and these were tested by the seniors whereas shops catering to the young, such as jeans stores, and variety type selling were tested by the juniors. Thus, in our sample, 17.4% of restaurant jobs were in prestige, or expensive establishments whereas 28% could be classified as family type or fast-food outlets. In the retail sales sector, 17.4% of the jobs were in the better or more expensive shops and boutiques whereas 14.4% were in less expensive, sometimes youth oriented shops. Managerial positions such as retail shop managers were classified as fairly high in prestige whereas cashiers and unskilled jobs were found primarily in the lower prestige areas. Somewhat more, lower level (114) than higher level (87) jobs were tested but this reflects the fact that more of these jobs were advertised in the classified section. Those jobs lower in prestige were test by the junior teams whereas the higher level jobs were handled by the senior teams. All told, 97 jobs were tested by men and 104 by women.

B – Offers to Whites and Blacks

For the purposes of this study, racial discrimination in employment was tested in two ways. First, was an offer of employment made to either one of the applicants, both applicants or neither applicant?* Secondly, during the contact session with the employer and/or interviewer, were there any discernable differences in the treatment of the two applicants?

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*At this point the question of whether or not discrimination took place must be raised. In other words, before we can state that Blacks were, in fact, discriminated against, we must first know if applicants were treated differently and, if so, did the difference followed racial lines. In order to do this, a chi square test of significance was used to demonstrate that in 36 cases, applicants were treated differently whereas in 165 cases, they were treated the same in that they either both received offers or neither received an offer. Table II shows the relationship:

Table II

Were Applicants Treated the Same or Differently?

		# of Cases
Treated Same		165
Treated Differently		36
Chi Sq. 13.975	D.F. I	Significance, p = 0.000

We are now able to state definitively that discrimination was present in these results, since they could not have occurred by chance alone. Was that discrimination directed against the White applicants or the Black? Table III demonstrates that when discrimination took place, it was clearly directed against the Black applicant and such results could not have happened by chance.

Table III

Discrimination Against Whites or Blacks?

		# of Cases
Offer to White: No Offer to Black		27
Offer to Black: No Offer to White		9
Chi Sq. 9.000	D.F. I	Significance, p = 0.003

If we examine only the first category of offer, versus no offer, the results are indicated in Table IV.

Table IV

Offer Versus No Offer

Offer – No Offer	#	%
Both Offered Job	10	5
White Offered Job; Black Not	27	13.4
Black Offered Job; White Not	9	4.5
No Offer to Either	155	77.1
Totals	201	100
Chi Sq. 340.197 D.F. 2	Significance, p = 0.000	

In all, our testers received 46 job offers. (It should be noted that given the tight job market, forty–six job offers is fairly impressive and does indicate that our applicants were presented in such a way as to make them competitive in the real job market.) Of the total of 46, by far the most significant numbers of offers were made to White applicants whereas Black applicants received only 9 offers. There were ten cases where both applicants received an offer which actually increases the number of offers to Blacks to 19 (and 37 for Whites). Nine out of these ten, however, were for commission sales jobs in which any applicant with appropriate credentials is "hired" since the employer does not pay a salary. The classified section of the newspaper lists many commission selling jobs every day. The ads do not always give a clear indication that commission selling is involved in a job. As cases came to our attention, it also became clear that our two highly experienced applicants would in most instances receive offers. For our experimental purpose, commission sales job became 'no' jobs and we did not assign them to our testers. For the remainder of this analysis, these cases have been included in the no offer category since they involve the same or, in fact, equal treatment. **Thus, there were 37 valid offers and it is apparent that offers to Whites outweigh offers to Blacks by a ratio of three to one. (Tests of statistical significance indicate that these results could not have occurred by chance.)**

We had thought that the nature of the job might influence whether or not Blacks would be hired, but in fact, the small number of Black job offers make this proposition difficult to test. The nine offers received by Blacks were as follows: Cook (1); retail sales (5); waitress (1); unskilled labour (2).* If we examine the kinds of jobs offered to the White applicants however, a definite trend seems to emerge in the data; although the small size of the offer sample prohibits gross generalizations.

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*We had also hypothesized that the skin color of the Black applicant might affect the results. One often hears White majority members commenting on the degree of Blackness amongst minority populations – e.g. "The lighter ones are most like us." Blacks themselves recognize a hierarchy based on skin color. This is a legacy from the period of slavery where lighter skinned persons had better jobs and higher status within the slave establishment and where slaves themselves learned to place a higher value on lighter skin colour. Remnants of this thinking are still found in some Black populations today, and to some extent, Whites have also found it easier to deal with lighter rather than darker people. In this study, the Black testers ranged from light brown to deep Black. When skin colour of the applicants was statistically controlled, no differences were found. The major differentiation was between all those who were Black as opposed to being White.

Among the senior men, only White applicants received offers for managerial positions. In the restaurant trade, only White applicants received offers for waitressing and/or waiters, counterhelp, and hostess/host positions. (There was one offer made for a Black waitress, but our White applicant for that job was told that she lived too far away. In addition, when the employer was phoned to say that the Black applicant could not accept the offer, a West-Indian accented voice took the message. This particular employer may therefore have had other Black employees.) In all, nine of the offers were for restaurant personnel, but only the exception noted above was made to the Black applicant. Very few restaurants, if any, have non-White waiting or hosting staff with the exception of 'ethnic' restaurants which for the most part were excluded from the sample. (A few European ethnic restaurants such as Greek and Italian ones were included and they followed the pattern of hiring Whites, rather than non-Whites.)

Thus, of the four main job categories, the findings suggest that non-Whites have a very small chance of being hired in the areas of retail sales and unskilled labour, but almost no chance of being hired at the managerial level or to face the public in the restaurant business.

It has also been assumed that non-Whites will have ready access to low prestige jobs. In our sample, one low prestige job which appeared with some regularity both in the ads and in signs was for gas station attendants. Two of the most blatant cases of differential treatment took place in gas stations. In both cases the junior Black male was treated with intense hostility. The number of cases is small, but such incidents suggest that often enough it is the attitude of the employer regardless of the job sector which affects hiring and non-hiring decisions. Thus, although it would appear on the surface that some job sectors are readily accessible to minorities, there will be specific places of employment within these sectors which nevertheless practice discrimination. The main reason for this, it would seem, is that the specific employer falls into that grouping of about 16% of the population who are exceedingly prejudiced. Non-whites seeking to enter the labour force are, in fact, faced with both attitudinal prejudice as well as systemic or structural discrimination.

C -Differential Treatment During the Interview

As noted earlier, another measure of racial discrimination in employment used in this study was to examine and compare the way in which the testers were treated during the contact and/or interview situation. One of the most blatant indices of discrimination occurred when the White applicant was invited to fill out an application, leave a resume, or was interviewed for the job, whereas the Black tester was told that the job had already been filled. In most cases, the Black tester entered the place of employment before the White applicant, and was told the job was taken or no longer available whereas the White applicant, an hour or so later, would be given clear indications that the job was still available. (This did not, of course, mean that the White applicant received an offer. In many cases, he or she did not. But the crucial factor was that they were able to enter the competition whereas the non-White was immediately excluded.) Some examples of this pattern include the following:

Mary, the young Black woman applied for a sales position in a retail clothing store and was immediately told that the position was filled. Sylvia, a half-hour later was given an application form and told that she would be contacted if they were interested in her.
Mary applied as a waitress in a well known restaurant. She had no sooner told the maitre d' what she was there for when he said the job had been taken. Sylvia was given an application and told that the "chosen person would be called after all the applications had been reviewed."
At another restaurant, the manager told Wilma that he had only a breakfast shift left and would she be interested in that? Eve, the Black woman, earlier had been told by the same man that all jobs had been filled.
In another case, Wilma applied for the job of waitress and this time, in addition to being questioned by the maitre d' was given a table to set correctly. She failed the test, but the maitre d' told her she could start as a busgirl until she learned the restaurant's routine. Eve, the Black woman, went into the same restaurant and asked the same maitre d' about the position. "He informed me that they had already filled it."
In a downtown coffee shop, Mary applied for the job of counterhelp. "I went inside and there were two men at the counter. I asked about the job and one pointed to the other. I went over and spoke to him about the job, but he said he had already filled it." Sylvia, the White applicant walked in five minutes later and was offered the job.

Another striking pattern of differential treatment took place when the Black applicant was rudely or dismissively treated and in some cases treated with real hostility whereas the White applicant received fair and courteous treatment. Since this was the largest category – it occurred 15 times – a number of examples will be cited to show how this pattern was actually experienced:

Paul, one of the junior White male testers walked into a gas station and approached a man who who turned out to be the owner of the station and asked if he needed any help. He said: "No, not right now, but do you have any experience?" I showed him my resume and he kept it saying that I would be the first one he would call if anything came up.

Larry, the junior Black tester, approached the same man about one-half hour later and asked if he needed any help. He said no and didn't even stop walking. "When I asked if I could leave him my resume," he said, 'shit, I said no didn't I?'

On another day, Paul, the White applicant, entered a restaurant which had advertised in its window for a waiter or busboy. He was told to see the manager upstairs. He was briefly interviewed, given an application form to fill in and told that he might be contacted in a week or so.

In applying for the same job, Larry was also sent to see the manager. He too was briefly interviewed and given an application to fill in. As the manager looked over his application for the position of waiter and/or busboy, he asked Larry: "Wouldn't you rather work in the kitchen?" (He then told Larry to return the next day to be interviewed by the cook.)

At another gas station, Paul walked in and inquired of and elderly woman who appeared to manage or own the station, if they needed help. He was told that they might need help in the future and "they asked me a lot of questions about where I lived, what school did I go to, what kind of career I was interested in the future; as I left she told me I was a nice young man." (Two days later, the woman phoned and offered Paul a job.)

At the same station, Larry walked in and asked, "any jobs?" The woman didn't even look up, she said 'not at the moment'; "I asked if I could leave a resume for the future and she said, 'that won't be necessary'."

Sylvia, one of our junior White women was sent to a well known store which specialized in sports clothes for young men and women. She noted in her report that: "They were friendly. I was given an application and was told to go to the manager who was wearing a green shirt, after I finished the form. He was nice and told me to come in for a second interview."

Mary, her Black partner entered the same shop and was told by the cashier, "to leave my name and I might be contacted, but that they were not taking applications or granting interviews that day."

Later that week, Sylvia followed up an ad asking for a waitress at a well known mid-town restaurant. "I went in and the hostess said hello and explained that they didn't have any applications anymore, but that I should write all my particulars on a piece of paper. She then came over and asked where I had worked before and a few other questions. She told me that they had a lot of applications to review and that I might be contacted."

When Mary, the Black tester went into the same restaurant, "I was told that the job was filled, but said I could leave my resume if I wanted to. As I was there, two other people went in and got mini-interviews which of course, implied that the job was still open."

On another day, Mary, the Black tester followed up an ad for counter help in an ice-cream parlour. "The lady said that the owner does the hiring and since he wasn't in, she would call me." (There was three or four other Black applicants there, and none were hired. I asked them on my way out.")

Sylvia entered the shop about ten minutes later. The same woman asked her a few questions about her past experience **and she was hired on the spot.**

At an automobile parts shop which had advertised for a cashier, Sylvia, the White woman was told that the boss, Don, was not in. But another man said that he could take her resume and that Don would phone her.

In the same store, Mary went in and asked for Don. She was told to wait inside, since Don was not there. "I waited awhile. One of the attendants went outside and spoke to Don who was looking at a customer's car. He pointed in my direction. Don said something and the man came back and said that the job had been taken."

Wilma, one of our senior White women applied for a waitress job in a restaurant offering French cuisine. "I was given an application by the manager. He smiled, offered me a seat and began interviewing me. He proposed that I work as a hostess since he also had a vacancy for that position. He shook my hand as I left and said that I would be called for a second interview."

On the same day, Eve, the senior Black tester entered the same restaurant. First, she was asked what position she was applying for and then asked "how I had heard about the job. I told him the advertisement had appeared in the paper a few days ago. He said 'that was a few days ago, the position has been

filled,' while he stared me up and down a few times which made me feel very uncomfortable."

At a very well known women's retail boutique, Wilma, the White applicant walked in and asked one of the sales women for an application for the advertised job. "She took me to the desk and gave me an application to fill in and when I had finished she phoned the manager or owner and asked if he would like to see me. The manager or owner came down a few minutes later, asked me a few questions, thanked me and said he would call."

Eve enters the same shop and looks around for someone to talk to about the job. "I finally approach a saleslady – she points to the desk says 'there." I go to the woman at the desk and as I ask for an application, the woman comes from behind the desk and greets a customer, hugs and kisses her while totally ignoring me. So, I stand there until it's my turn at the counter and explain that I want to fill in an application for the job. She very quickly gave me one and motions me out of the store saying: 'you can't fill it out here, take it away and fill it out at home or something and then bring it back. We can't have you at the counter here where it's busy'. Eve left, filled out the application and returned with it a half hour later. The same woman took it and said someone will perhaps call.

Andy, our senior White male tester applied for the position of shoe salesman. "Mr. Wallace* shook my hand and made small talk. He then asked me about my last job. Asked if I had ever sold shoes. I said no and he smiled and said he appreciated my honesty. He asked if I was interested in learning the shoe trade and when I said yes, he told me that my application would be processed by the head office and they would be calling next week. He said he was glad I had applied and saw me to the door."

Robert, the Black male tester was received by the same man. "He did not shake my hand before or after the interview. I was not greeted. He told me little about the job, took my resume and said I might be contacted by head office. He was businesslike, barely civil. In this case, I felt I hadn't a chance from the start. I know I won't be called back."

At a car leasing establishment, Andy, the White male applied as a salesman. He was asked about his experience in sales, and his resume was taken to another man in one of the inner offices. A short time later, a man, probably the manager came out, introduced himself and took Andy into the inner office where he was given an extensive interview. After a while, the manager said, "I think you've got the right attitude, you can start immediately."

*All names have been changed.

Robert went to the same firm about one hour earlier than Andy. "I approached a salesman who told me the job was filled. I asked to speak to the manager. I was referred to someone else in the showroom. This man was one of three people standing around carrying on a conversation about a cookbook. Without looking up from the book, he informed me that the job was taken. The entire process took less than two minutes. It hurt quite a bit too."

While these patterns of differential treatment were the most serious in terms of discrimination and, also the most numerous, a number of other patterns emerged from the data. They did not take place as often but nevertheless showed that Blacks were in some ways treated differently than Whites. One particularly interesting one was a situation in which the Black applicant was courteously received, and, in fact, interviewed at very great length about themselves, their past experience and the way in which they would handle the present job. These interviews lasted for as long as one or more hours. During that time the Black applicant was told that his or her credentials were impressive and probably just right for the job. Since the employer had other applicants to interview, however, our tester was told that he or she would be contacted again. They were never called back.

In one such case, Eve, the senior Black woman encountered a friendly and talkative manager of a prestigious women's clothing store. The chain is found throughout Canada.

> "I arrived early, but Ms. Zolder was a bit late as her other interviewees arrived late. The interview took place in the ... Hotel, in a rented suite. As I wait, I am offered coffee by Ms. Zolder. She enters the room, a tall, smiling woman in early middle age. She hands me an application form and as I fill it out, she is talking to me, asking me a lot of questions about my past experience and at the same time telling me about herself. She lives in Kingston, and after graduating from community college, she went into retail buying. (Much more detail is offered about her past.) She then tells me about the store, the kind of clothing it sells, the special 'look,' which she says is fashionable, but a bit conservative. She tells me that I look professional and have the 'special look,' they cultivate. She asked about my last place of employment, why I had left and why did I want to work for her store? (Much more talk ensues and finally, she began explaining company benefits and wages.) She offered $6 per hour and said it was the highest amount she had yet offered an interviewee. As I left, she said she would be in touch with me in about two days time. The interview last over one hour."

In another case, David, one of the Black senior male testers describes another long interview with a Mr. Taylor , president of a men's cosmetic firm.

> "Mr. Taylor took me into his office and spoke to me at length about the company and the nature of the work I would be doing. He stressed the amount of money I could be making (with commissions at least $30,000 per year, and the travel involved, Buffalo and other cities of northern New York), and

> various other aspects of the work. He looked over my resume and asked why I'm in sales and what kind of car I drove. He seemed satisfied with my answers. His attitude was very positive, very enthusiastic. Said I should talk it over with my wife, and he would give me a call on Saturday morning. I left feeling that I had the job if I wanted it."

In another sales interview, this time with a firm selling technical equipment, Jack, another senior Black tester recounts the following:

> "My team researcher and I were given a joint interview. There was one other person (Caucasian male) present. I was told my qualifications were good for the position. All three of us were given extensive information on the company and the kind of selling required. My resume was taken and passed on to another supervisor for approval. I will be called if I am needed for a second interview later that day. There was nothing I could detect in Mark's manner or tone which indicated preferential treatment of any kind."

All three of the above encounters took well over one hour. All three Black testers felt they had the job. (In the last two cases, both White testers were, in fact, called back for second interviews.) In all three cases, the Black testers were not contacted again. This pattern occurred over all five times.

Other patterns of differential treatment included: A situation where both applicants were offered the job, but the Black was offered less money than the White partner. In one such case, both the testers applied for a sales position to a women's boutique in a prestigious shopping mall.

> The senior White tester, Wilma notes that "after she asked me a lot of questions and told me that I was expected to sell at least $1500 worth of merchandise daily, said she'd give me a shot, come back tomorrow at 9:30 and I'll start you at $5.75 per hour."

> Meantime, Eve, the Black tester was given much the same kind of interview which concluded with "come back on Monday and you can start the 12 noon shift. I'll start you at $4.50 per hour and as soon as you have proven yourself, that could be within a few days, she would raise it up to $8.00."

This occurred only twice, but considering the fact that Blacks received fewer offers, it is important to note that it took place at all. (In about half of our cases, neither applicant was able to obtain information on the rate of pay for a particular job. This took place primarily among lower level jobs.)

On a few occasions, derogatory comments were made about Blacks to the White applicant as he was being interviewed for a job. Interestingly enough, in the two cases in which this occurred, the Black referred to was our own tester! In one such case, Arthur, the senior White tester was being interviewed for the position of door-to-door salesman about one hour after David.

> "John was a man in his mid-twenties. Had just started the company and was looking for an additional salesman. The interview was casual, very relaxed. It

was obvious I had a job if I want it, particularly as he said **'that the two candidates before me had been Black and I wasn't too enthusiastic about that.'** (He even held up David's resume and mentioned him by name.)"

Cases where the White applicant was clearly preferred over the Black applicant also constituted discriminatory treatment. In several instances, the White tester was offered the job and we would phone back saying that he or she had accepted another job. A period of time, ranging from about 2 days to more than 2 months would elapse, and the Black applicant would be contacted for the same job. Larry, the junior Black male had been well received in a restaurant applying for the position of cook.

"It sounded as if they wanted to hire me. Told me a lot about the food and said I would be in touch as soon as interviews had finished."

In point of fact, Larry received a call back for this position about two months later. In these cases, another applicant was hired for the job and when the individual did not, for whatever reason work out, our Black applicant was contacted. The employer preferred other employees, but when good applicants were in short supply and, rather than pay the cost of advertising again, the employer would contact the next best individual even though that applicant was Black.

In summary, differential treatment between White and Black testers took place 38 times (19%). In all but one case, the White was favored or preferred over the Black. In other words, where differential treatment took place at all, it favored the White testers by a ratio of 37 to 1. Black, or non-White job seekers face not only discrimination in the sense of receiving far fewer job offers than do Whites, but they are also subjected to a considerable amount of negative and even abusive treatment while job seeking. Needless to say, in cases where such differential treatment took place, Blacks did not receive offers of employment.

D - Job Offers and Differential Treatment Combined

The two measures of racial discrimination in employment as measured by this study can be combined since in both types of discrimination, the non-White did not receive an offer of employment. Table V presents the combined results:

Table V

Offer and Differential Treatment Combined*

Type of Discrimination	#	%
White offer: No Black Offer	27	13.4
White Preferred: All Forms of Differential Treatment	38	18.9
Total	65	32.3
Black Offer: No White Offer (includes 1 case of Black preferred over White	10	5
Same Treatment to Both	126	62.7
Sample Total	201	100

(Table V shows that discriminatation took place in 65 cases. From this total we must, however, subtract 10 cases where Blacks were preferred over Whites. In addition, there were 7 cases where Blacks were rudely treated while the White applicant received an offer. These 7 must also be subtracted otherwise we would be counting the same case twice.)

* See Appendix B for a discussion of age and sex differences.

In sum, the findings of the direct in-person field testing reveal that in 48 job contacts or 23.8% of the cases, some form of discrimination against Black applicants took place.

These findings clearly indicate that Whites and Blacks do not have equal access to employment. Racial discrimination in employment, either in the form of clearly favoring a White over a Black even though their resumes are equivalent, or in the form of treating a White applicant better than a Black or non-White person in the interview or contact situation, took place in almost one-quarter of all job contacts tested in this study. When we examine the results of the telephone testing, this pattern of discrimination occurs again and, if anything, far more strongly than in the direct in-person field testing.

The Telephone Testing

The telephone inquiry is often the first direct interaction between applicant and employer. Job seekers often call the phone number listed in an advertisement to determine if the job is available and to make an interview appointment. Also, employers frequently do not advertise their addresses, preferring to screen applicants by phone. Increasingly, as employers are able to be more selective in their hiring of personnel due to high levels of unemployment, the telephone inquiry becomes the first screening process of potential employees whereby the employer eliminates those applicants who do not meet their requirements. Screening thus consists of a series of questions that the employer can ask applicants about their qualifications and experience.

The telephone inquiry can be characterized as a four stage process:

1. Selection of jobs to call by the applicant from all jobs advertised.

2. Inquiry by the applicant: Is the job available or has it been filled?

3. If the job is still available, possible screening of the applicants by the employer as to their experience and qualifications.

4. Rejection or acceptance of the applicant's inquiry based on screening. If the inquiry is accepted, a second contact, usually an interview, is arranged.

Discrimination can occur at every stage of the employment process. Discrimination at the first stage can take an overt and a covert form. Canadian law prohibits overt discrimination in job advertisement. We no longer see, "No Blacks, Irish, Indians or Women need apply." Covertly however, jobs can be selectively advertised through word–of–mouth, or only advertised in selected newspapers or journals, thus reducing the possibility of 'unacceptable' persons being aware of a job opportunity. And while discrimination can occur at every stage of the telephone inquiry, self–selection and differential access to job opportunity information is beyond the scope of this study.* We are primarily concerned with testing stages 2 through 4.

At the 2nd stage, the inquiry by the applicant as to whether or not the job is still available:

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*There is evidence that different visible minority groups themselves may select jobs from sources that they feel will provide them with the most likelihood of success and thus not select jobs in the same manner as White job seekers. Such a self–selection process may increase the possiblity of finding employment and thus represents a rational and useful strategy. However, it also may limit the type and number of job opportunities to those already held by members of their racial group and result in the concentration of various racial groups in certain sectors of the labour market, (20). But we must remember that job search behaviour does not occur in isolation but as a response to experience, and is also heavily dependent upon the recruitment channels that employers utilize, (21).

- racial discrimination can be said to take place when a caller is told that the job is filled when it is in fact 'open' to others of a different racial category.

Racial discrimination at the 3rd stage, that of screening, can be defined as:

- screening only some racial categories of applicants,

- screening all applicants and informaing only some of them that they are not suitably experienced or qualified even though they have the same objective qualifications as accepted applicants.

And finally, discrimination during the 4th stage can consist of telling the applicants that while they qualify, currently no additional interviews are being arranged, when in fact other applicants are still being accepted for interviews.

It may be argued that screening only some applicants and not others is not necessarily discriminatory. However, if there is not systematic racial discrimination present, we would expect that all racial groups would be subject to the same proportion of screening. The objective of screening is to eliminate unsuitable applicants, that is persons who do not have the qualifications required by the employer. If some types of applicants are screened more than others, for example persons with non-Canadian accents or recognizable foreign names, then the employer may believe that such persons are possibly not suited for employment because they could not have the necessary qualifications or experience. An attempt is then made through screening to confirm such opinions. Biased screening, like differential treatment in the in-person testing may be an indication of the presence of prejudicial attitudes and assumptions about characteristics of racial minorities.

The presence of such stereotyped beliefs became very evident during a call made by one of our testers. She called for a position of a dental receptionist representing an Italian Canadian. The employer or employer's representative refused to believe that she was an experienced dental receptionist. But at no time did he ask about job experience or job knowledge. He replied...

> "You!! are a dental receptionist? I doubt it. You don't sound like someone who has the education or office experience to me. I don't have the time to waste interviewing people who don't have the skills."

Method

This part of the research focusses on the investigation of racial discrimination during the telephone inquiry. In order to determine if racial discrimination exists in employer-applicant interactions, inquiries were made by callers representing various racial groups to jobs advertised in a major Toronto newspaper.

Three racial categories were selected for the telephone testing: White Canadian of Anglo decent, Black West Indian and Indo-Pakistani. A fourth category of caller, that of White Immigrant, was also included so that the effect of immigrant status on discrimination could be differentiated from the effect of race.

Jobs were chosen at random from the classified section as stated previously and covered unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled positions. Some types of jobs had to be excluded due to the inability to respond knowingly to screening questions by employers (for example, computer programmers, software designers, chemists, nurses etc.). A summary of the job types and their frequency is given in Table VI.

Table VI

Type and Frequency of Jobs Called

Type	Frequency	% of Total
Food and Restaurant: Waiters and Waitresses, Maitre d', Bartenders, Hostesses, Dishwashers, Cooks, etc.	35	14.8
Drivers and Couriers: with own car and without, Truck Drivers (no Taxi Drivers)	22	9.3
Non-Commission Sales: Furniture and Appliances, Cars, Manufacturer's Representatives, Store Clerks and Cashiers	40	16.9
Skilled: Mechanics, Fork-Lift Operators, Dry Wall Installers, etc.	2	.8
General Labour: Cleaners, Carwash Help, Warehouse and Order Fillers, Service Station Help, etc.	44	18.6
Management: Clothing Stores, Stereo Stores, Property, Crew and Production, etc.	20	8.4
Service: Hairdressers, Manicurists, Valets, etc.	17	7.2
Clerical: Secretary, Accounting Clerks, Typists, Receptionists, Order Desk, Customer Service, etc.	57	24.1
Totals	237	100%

To exclude sexual discrimination as a confounding factor in the results callers did not cross traditional sex role job categories. For example, male callers did not call for secretarial positions and females did not call for dry wall installers. Also, no job was called by both sexes of testers even when the type of job would have permitted it.

To ensure as much as possible that no interference from other factors was causing the observed results, several other preconditions also had to be satisfied. Demographic and employee characteristics were held constant for all callers within each sex and job type category. That is all males were of the same age, educational level, years and types of experience, were married with one child, and had left their last job for the same type of reason (i.e., plant closure, return to school). All immigrants were Canadian citizens and had Canadian post-secondary education if the job warranted such an education level. Each immigrant had been in Canada for ten years.

Female callers were likewise standardized. To exclude the possibility of discrimination by some employers against single mothers or mothers in general, female callers were married but had no children. To exclude age as a discriminating factor, callers were told to vary their age according to the type of job with more "mature" callers calling for management and secretarial positions, "younger" callers testing positions for busboys, warehouse and service station help, typists and so on. All callers were given a profile to refer to for each type of job. For example, the clerk typist would follow the guidelines set out below.

Clerk-Typist, Typists, Receptionist-Typists:

Age: 24

Married, no children

Education: Secondary Grade 12, commercial high school

Skills: 60 w.p.m. typing, filing, switchboard

Experience: 3 years in insurance, bank or government office

3 years in smaller business, i.e. real estate, manufacturer, distributor, etc.

Reason for Leaving: Moved away, company closed, travelled for 3 months.

As all the callers had previously taken part in the direct in-person testing they knew their parts well, but still rehearsed and made themselves familiar with names of firms and schools. In the actual calling, no questions were asked about marital status, why the caller had left the last job or about the immigrant status of the caller.

Telephone callers can only be identified by accent on the part of the employer. Therefore it was necessary to determine if persons could accurately attribute the caller's race based on voice contact alone. A pre-test was conducted to determine if people could identify the callers' ethnicity just by accent alone. Six persons agreed to participate in the pre-test but were not aware of its purpose. They each received four

identical calls within a 24 hour period, one from each of the racial-immigrant categories. They were asked to identify the callers sex, age, immigrant-non-immigrant status and country of origin. All subjects correctly identified the callers' sex, race and immigrant status. While country of origin varied somewhat, they were still within the correct racial-geographic cluster (e.g. Italian or Greek for the White immigrant, Jamaica or Trinidad for the Black immigrant).

To reduce the possibility that callers would be told that the job was filled due to the employer having received sufficient prior calls, jobs were selected from among those that had not appeared on the previous day. All callers within each sex were given identical job listings to call and were instructed to begin at the top of the list and proceed in order down the list. All callers were to begin their calls at 9:00 a.m. so that the time span between callers would be minimized.

While callers were given a standard structure for their tests, they were not given identical scripts so as not to arouse the suspicions of employers. They were to state their name, why they were calling and to ask if the job was available. Names were provided that enhanced the identification of the caller's ethnic or racial status. If the job had been filled, the callers were to thank the employer and hang up. If the job was still open and subjects were told to drop in without a specific appointment, they took the address, thanked the employer and hung up. If the employer requested an appointment, callers had two options, to tell the employer they would call back to make the appointment as they were trying to confirm their available times or to make the appointment and to cancel it later.

Callers were instructed to use proper English and full sentences so that lack of language ability would not be a discriminating factor for immigrants.

In the telephone testing discrimination was said to occur when a caller is told that the job had been filled while another caller is told that the job is available. Discrimination also takes place when one caller-applicant with a certain set of qualifications is screened out and told that he or she does not qualify whereas other callers with the same qualifications are told that they do and are invited to apply. When this situation arose, our callers were instructed to score the call as **screened-out closed**. **Another level of discrimination takes place when callers are treated differently from one another in that some but not all of the callers were screened**. In the telephone testing, then, there were four possible ways of scoring each call. They were either:

- open – job available
- closed – job not available
- screened-out closed – caller does not have qualifications but the job is still available
- screened-open – callers are screened or questioned about their qualifications but the job is available to them.

If for some reason a job was not called by all four of our callers, the job was excluded from the final sample. Statistical tests for significance were applied to the results.* Our final sample consisted of 237 jobs, 117 were done by females and 120 by males, a total of 948 individual calls.

Results

Screened-Out Closed

There were nine instances where the applicant was screened and was subsequently told that he or she did not qualify. All nine instances occurred when other callers had either not been screened at all and accepted as applicants, or had been screened but were still accepted as applicants. Only West Indian and Indo-Pakistani callers received screened-out closed responses (see Table VII).

Table VII

Screened-Out Closed Responses

Response	White Canadian	White Immigrant	Black West Indian	Indo-Pakistani**
Open	9	5	1	1
Screened-out Closed	0	0	3	6
Screened Open	0	4	5	2
Closed	0	0	0	0
Total	9	9	9	9

*Analysis was carried out utilizing a series of chi squared tests. Tests were conducted to determine if racial discrimination took place and when it took place, who was discriminated against. Full chi squared cells for each result are presented in Appendix E.

**We of course recognize that White Immigrants, Black West Indians and Indo-Pakistanis can and often are also Canadians. The exclusion of Canadian from the racial category headings is for ease of reading and identification of the different groups only.

As the number of screened-out closed responses were small, for the purpose of analysis, they were included as closed responses. Nevertheless, it is still very informative to note the differences in this measure of discrimination. In each case where the West Indian or Indo-Pakistani caller was screened out, the White Canadian caller was told the job was open and not screened at all. White Immigrants received a mixture of screening and non-screening, open responses for these jobs. Indo-Pakistanis received twice the amount of screened-out responses compared to the West Indian callers. In this index of discrimination Indo-Pakistanis have the least likelihood of gaining access to a job opportunity. Employers used the screening process as a mechanism to artificially and illegally disqualify our racial minority callers. These same employers assumed that the White Canadian caller had the qualifications they sought but they did not make the same assumption for the White Immigrant all of the time. As each caller held the same qualifications, screening was used to disguise the fact that the employer did not want persons of that racial group in their employ.

Rates of Responses

There were significant differences in the frequencies of open, screened-open and closed responses experienced by the four groups of callers. White Canadian callers were told that the job was open 85.2% of the time. The White Immigrant callers were told that the job was open 65% of the time, the West Indian Black callers 51.9% and the Indo-Pakistani callers received open responses for 47.3% of all their calls (see Table VIII).

There were also differences in the amount of screening each group was subjected to. White Canadians were screened the least (1.7% of all calls). White Immigrant callers were screened by 3.8% of the employers. The two racial minorities however received much greater rates of screening than the two White groups. Indo-Pakistani callers were screened by 8.9% of the employers. Black West Indians received the greatest amount of screening of all the groups, 12.2%. Employers apparently feel the need to ask members of racial minorities about their job qualifications and experience while accepting White Canadians at face value.

Thirty-one or 13.1% of the jobs called had been closed, (filled) when the White Canadian callers made their inquiries, while the White Immigrant found that the number of jobs already filled had more than doubled for them (31.2% of all calls). Black West Indians had 35.9% of the jobs closed to them and the Indo-Pakistani callers had the greatest number of jobs closed to their inquiry (104 jobs, 43.9%). Table VIII gives the figures.

Table VIII

Rates of Responses

Responses	White Canadian		White Immigrant		Black West Indian		Indo-Pakistani	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Open	202	85.2	154	65.0	123	51.9	112	47.3
Screened-Open	4	1.7	9	3.8	29	12.2	21	8.9
Closed	31	13.1	74	31.2	85	35.9	104	43.9
Total	237	100	237	100	237	100	237	100
Chi Sq. = 96.57 D.F. = 6 Significance, p=.0000								

Put another way, we can ask how many calls must a person within each of the four racial-immigrant categories make to secure 10 potential job interviews. White Canadians have combined open and screened-open response rate of 86.9% (85.2 + 1.7), or they must make approximately 11 to 12 calls to get 10 opportunities. White Immigrants must make 13 or 14 calls to get 10 opportunities. Black West Indians need to make about 15 to 16 calls. And the Indo-Pakistani job seekers must make the most number of calls to get 10 opportunities, approximately 19 to 20.

When we consider the work and time necessary to select and call job listings, we can see that immigrants in general but especially those immigrants who are also members of racial minorities, must work harder to get access to the same number of job opportunities as a White Canadian. Indo-Pakistanis, for example, must work twice as hard as White Canadians even though they are equally qualified and experienced. A further factor making it harder for racial minority Canadians to get job opportunities is of course the finite number of jobs one can call due to the limited number of jobs available. For example, if a White Canadian and an Indo-Pakistani Canadian seek the same type of job and there are three appropriate jobs listed in any one day, it is possible that the Indo-Pakistani may have to make calls for a week before he or she gets even one "open" response given the rate of closed to open responses found in these results. The White Canadian on the other hand could possibly get two "open" responses on the first day of his or her search. It is an empirical fact that immigrants and racial minorities experience greater unemployment than equally qualified Whites, (22). Discrimination by employers on the basis of race increases both the time and work that is necessary for non-Whites to seek and find work. The effects of such discrimination is greater degrees of unemployment for racial minorities which is the major source of income inequality

between Whites and non-Whites. This has also been established in a number of studies, (23). But discrimination also increases the income gap via the greater expenditures by racial minorities of *"regretables"; the time, work and resources* consumed in job seeking, (24).

Not all of the employers that we called discriminated. Of the total 237 jobs we called, 114 or 48% treated all the callers the same. That is if one was screened, they all were screened and if the job was open, it was open to everyone regardless of their race. But more than one-half of Toronto employers surveyed did discriminate against at least one of the callers. **One hundred and twenty-three, or 52% of the employers in our sample discriminated against one or more of our four applicants.**

Table IX

Rates of Responses When There Was

Discrimination Present

Responses	White Canadian		White Immigrant		Black West Indian		Indo-Pakistani	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Open	118	95.9	70	56.9	39	31.7	28	22.8
Closed	5	4.1	47	38.2	59	48.0	76	61.8
Screened-Open	0	0	6	4.9	25	20.3	19	15.4
Totals	123	100	123	100	123	100	123	100
Chi Sq. = 166.99		D.F. = 6		Significance, p=.0000				

Immigrant Status or Race

We can see from Table VIII that the four groups were not discriminated against in equal degrees. It is obvious from the results that White Canadians were by far the most successful in getting potential job interviews. But we still need to determine if the discrimination experienced by the racial minorities was due to their race or due to their immigrant status. We conducted chi-squared tests between the four groups to determine if the different rates of responses for each of the groups was significantly different from the others. (See Appendix E for X^2 cells.) The two racial minorities received significantly more discrimination than the White Immigrant callers. That

is, employers discriminated against the Black West Indians and the Indo-Pakistani callers based on their race and not solely on the fact that they were immigrants as well. There was no significant differences in the rates of responses between Blacks and Indo-Pakistanis, (25). It would appear that both types of racial minorities are seen by employers as equally undesirable employees.

There were five instances where the White Canadian caller was told that the job was filled when other callers were told that the job was open. When the callers were questioned about these five cases, it was found that four had occurred when one of the callers had been unable to complete all the calls in sequence due to busy signals and had called back to these jobs late in the afternoon. Thus in these four cases the apparent discrimination against the White Canadian was probably due to extraneous factors in that too much time had elapsed between our four callers and the employer most likely had received sufficient calls for his purposes. Given the far greater numbers of closed responses received by the White Immigrant, Black West Indian and Indo-Pakistani callers, even if we allow the one remaining case where the White Canadian received a closed response while others received an open response, to stand as a case of discrimination against the White Canadian, this does not in any way affect the significance or the magnitude of the results.

The far lower number of open responses received by White Immigrants and the even lower numbers of open responses received by the racial minorities represent cases where employers have purposely excluded these categories of persons from access to job opportunities. Overt discrimination practices by employers consisted of basing the criteria of selection on the immigrant status and the race of the caller. Clearly, there are deliberate differences in the job information that Whites and non-Whites are given about the availability of work.

Summary

In testing racial discrimination by employers in the Toronto labour market at the earliest stages of job contact -- the telephone inquiry -- it was found that White Canadians have greater opportunities to set up job interviews and are subject to less pre-interview screening. Of the 123 employers called where some form of discrimination occurred, the White Canadian was told that the job was open 95.9% of the time (or 118 out of 123 jobs accepted without qualification, the White Canadians' applications). When employers discriminated among callers by differentially screening them, White Canadians were never screened for their experience or qualifications. Only White Immigrants, Black West Indians and Indo-Pakistanis were questioned by these employers as to their suitability.

The overt discrimination experienced by the racial minorities was the most severe. Of the 118 jobs that were open to the White Canadian, only 39 of these same jobs were open to the Black West Indian and even fewer, only 28 of these jobs were open to the Indo-Pakistani callers.*

Fifty-two percent of all employers who were contacted discriminated against callers who were members of racial minority groups by either telling them that the job was closed when it was open to Whites or screening them when Whites were not screened.

These results indicate that non-Whites must work harder and longer to gain access to potential employment opportunities even though they have equal educational and employment experience with Whites. Their difficulties in gaining employment are not ended however once a job interview is obtained. As the results of the in-person testing showed, Blacks are subjected to some form of discriminatory treatment in nearly one-quarter of all the job contacts they are able to establish.

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*See Appendix E for Chi Sq. cells and Table for Rate of Responses When Discrimination was Present for the figures quoted in the Summary above.

Summary and Conclusions

In-Person Testing

Racial discrimination in employment has been tested by systematically analyzing the experiences of Whites and non-Whites in their efforts to find employment. Two methods of field testing were employed. First, four matched pairs of Black and White job seekers, in reality, experimental testers, were sent to apply to job listings published in the major newspaper. The majority of the jobs tested were in the retail food industry, retail sales, junior managerial positions and unskilled labour. Testers carried matched resumes and were chosen and trained to be as alike to each other as possible. In all, 201 jobs were applied for in person by the four teams. The results show that 36 offers of employment were received, of which 27 were offered to the White applicant and 9 offered to the Black applicant. (In 10 cases, both applicants received offers, but these were in the area of commission sales.) In addition, there were differences in the ways in which White and Black applicants were treated. Blacks were treated rudely, discourteously and even with hostility in 38 cases (or 19% of the total sample). White applicants were never subjected to rude treatment, but were, in all cases, dealt with as potential employees. When the difference between the numbers of White and Black job offers, as well as the number of times Blacks were the recipients of negative treatment are summed, **the results show that in 48 or nearly 24% of all job contacts, some form of discrimination took place.**

Telephone Testing

In addition to direct in-person contacts, the second method used to measure discrimination was that of telephone testing, whereby 237 jobs listed in the newspaper were phoned by four men and four women applicants. In each group, applicants had either a standard "Canadian" accent, a foreign immigrant accent (Italian for the women, Slavic for the men), a Jamaican (West-Indian) accent and an Indo-Pakistani accent. Each applicant identified himself or herself with a name easily associated with that of the ethnic group. Results indicated that 85% of the jobs called were open to White Canadians. Such callers were told that the job was available and invited to come in and fill in an application or come for an interview. Sixty-five percent were open to the White Immigrant, 52% to the Black West Indian and less than half or 47.3% were open to the Indo-Pakistani. Another way of looking at the figures is to say that few jobs were closed to Canadians, but 36% and 44% were closed to the West Indian and the Indo-Pakistani respectively. These results clearly show that members of racial minorities, even when not seen in a face-to-face situation, are discriminated against when they phone for information about jobs.

General Index of Discrimination

We have, in addition, attempted to analyze our overall findings in order to create a general rate or index of discrimination (as it applies primarily to job search procedures). In this study, several indices of discrimination were employed: the discrimination which occurs at the initial screening stage, the telephone survey, and the rate which occurs when hiring decisions are being made. If a potential employee

manages to secure an interview for a job by passing the initial telephone screening, he or she still faces the possibility of being discriminated against when the actual hiring decision is being made. It is therefore possible to combine the rate of discrimination from both telephone and direct person to person field testing in ways which will develop an index of the discrimination experienced by equally qualified persons prior to employment.*

On telephone inquiries, Blacks were told that the job was closed to them 20% of the time, whereas the job was closed to Whites in only 5.5% of the cases. In the direct person to person job applications, Blacks received negative treatment or were treated differently from Whites in 19% of all cases. In addition, the difference in the success rate between Blacks receiving job offers (39%) and Whites receiving offers (55%) was 16%. Taking all these measures together, Blacks experience an overall average discrimination rate of 18.3% in all their job efforts. If we translate these figures into actual job searches, the figures are even more revealing. Out of every 20 jobs contacted, Blacks have a 64% chance of getting through a telephone screening procedure. This means that they can secure 13 interviews (out of 20 job contacts), but their chance of actually receiving a job offer is only 1 out of 20. (This indicates that their ability to pass through the telephone screening procedure is very much better than when they are seen in a face-to-face interview situation.) White applicants, on the other hand, are able to pass through the screening procedure successfully 87% of the time. They achieve an interview rate of 17 out of the initial 20 and manage to obtain 3 offers of employment. **The overall index of discrimination is therefore 3 to 1. Whites have 3 job prospects to every 1 for Blacks.** (See Appendix E for details.) This index of 3 to 1 clearly demonstrates that Blacks have to work very much harder and longer in order to secure employment.

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*The telephone testing and direct field testing differed in that when field testers phoned to arrange interviews, they had no discernable accent nor did they use "ethnic" names. Employers could not discern prior to seeing the tester whether he or she was Black or White. There were thus no opportunities to screen out the field testers due to race. Had they been able to do so, it is possible that the success rate of Blacks would have been even less. We know from the LaPiere study that persons who would not discriminate against a member of a racial minority when that person was facing them directly did so "long distance" claiming in a letter that they would not offer them accommodation. The inverse is also true. Those employers who discriminated against non-White phone callers may not discriminate against them in person to person contact.

We are assuming that these two possibilities -- one decreasing the access to employment while the other increases it, cancel each other out. While we do not know this as fact, the ratio or index is intended to provide a generalized picture of the problems and extra efforts required by non-Whites in seeking employment and not to delimit precise relationships.

The index constructed here can only compare Whites to Blacks, since the field testing, because of budgetary constraints could not include White Immigrants or Indo-Pakistanis.

Conclusion

The results of this study clearly indicate that there is very substantial racial discrimination affecting the ability of members of racial minority groups to find employment. As the authors of a similar study conducted in Great Britain note, such measures of racial discrimination which examine only the earliest stages of contact between employer and potential employee produce an underestimate of the real level of inequality in the workplace, (26). Discrimination can occur at all levels of the employer-employee and applicant interaction as noted earlier in this report. Any discrimination observed in telephone inquiries or in job application procedures at the point of selection are therefore incomplete indices of discrimination. If other dimensions of the workplace were to be explored, many more forms of discrimination in employment would be revealed.

The results of this project also strengthen the finding of other studies done in the area of employment discrimination in Canada. We now know that both indirect measures of discrimination such as those which reveal income disparities between minority and majority group members and others, as well as studies such as this one in which a direct measure of discrimination was employed, all come to similar conclusions. In addition, the idea or myth that such problems do not exist in Canada as they do in the U.S. or Great Britain can no longer be entertained. Studies in both the U.S. and Great Britain show that non-Whites are seriously disadvantaged in the labour market. In fact, research done in Great Britain using similar techniques of field testing show, if anything, an even higher rate of discrimination against non-Whites. We now have enough data on Canadian society to know that the same problems are found here.

Another striking implication of this study is that it shows clearly that discriminatory behaviour is not an aberrant or deviant way of acting. The so-called lunatic fringe theory of explanation -- that is -- that acts of racism including barring of non-White or any other member of a minority group from access to employment are simply the isolated acts of a few pathological people, is overly simplistic.* It is erroneous to suggest that employers, with the exception of a handful of bigots, apply fair minded criteria to the process of employee selection. The employment arena, as any system

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*Studies in the general area of race relations show that attitudinal racism exists in about 16-20% of the general majority population. It is worth noting here that although much of the social psychological literature maintains that attitudes and behaviour do not necessarily coincide, the rate of attitudinal racism of about 18% found in Canadian attitudinal surveys is almost identical to the amount of behavioural racism demonstrated in this study. (Blacks were discriminated against 18.3% of the time.) We can conclude therefore, that there is a hard core of bigotry evident in this society which is reflected in measures of attitude as well as -- given the results of this study -- in discriminatory behaviour. Some of these hard core bigots are gatekeepers and decision makers in the labour market and are thus able to keep certain categories of people out. Racial minority job seekers are thus disadvantaged by both systemic barriers and individual bigots.

in modern society, is riddled with barriers created to deny access to certain categories of people to the full benefits of that system. Discrimination in employment must be viewed as part of a larger dynamic whereby certain groups of people maintain their position of privilege largely at the expense of other groups who are deliberately or sometimes inadvertently excluded from full and equal participation. The systemic nature of discrimination therefore impiies that attempting to change the attitudes or even the behaviour of individual discriminators is a fruitless endeavor. What is required is a total overhauling of the system in order to make sure that race, religion and the like are not used as indicators of an employee's abilities. This involves not only the re-education of bigots but the removal of all structural barriers to employment. While racism may affect all aspects of an individual's life, its effects are most striking in the area of employment. Employment has profound effects on the quality of life that members of a racial minority group can obtain and these effects are both cumulative and intergenerational. The demands of the labour market compel us to seek the "best man or woman" for the job. To deny a willing and qualified individual a job due to factors of race is not in the best interests of either employers, employees or society at large, (27). A society which permits deviance from its own moral and legal code is a society in which individual rights are not guaranteed. There are few among us who are not potential victims of discrimination, whether it is based on sex, race, religion, country of origin, disability or occupation. The policy implications of this study signal a loud and clear message to both Federal and Provincial government in this country.

Footnotes to Text

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2. Ibid, p. 4.

3. Equality Now, Report of the Special Committee on Visible Minorities in Canadian Society, Ottawa, March 1984.

4. op. cit, p. 82.

5. Ibid, p. 83.

6. J. Goldlust and A. Richmond, A Multivariate Analysis of the Economic Adaptation of Immigrants in Toronto, Toronto Institute For Behavioural Research, York University, 1973.

7. Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, Racial and Ethnic Discrimination in Employment, Working Paper #5, Toronto, 1982.

8. J. Reitz et. al, Ethnic Inequality and Segregation in Jobs, Toronto Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 1981.

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10. R. Breton, The Ethnic Community as a Resource in Relation to Group Problems: Perceptions and Attitudes, Toronto Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 1981.

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12. Equality Now, op. cit., p. 32.

13. F. Henry, The Dynamics of Racism in Toronto, Ottawa, Secretary of State, 1978.

14. See Appendix III of the Brief to the Parliamentary Committee on the Participation of Visible Minorities in Canada, Urban Alliance on Race Relations, 1983.

15. Canadian Civil Liberties Association, Reported in #14.

16. T. Sowell, "Race and the Market," The Review of Black Political Economy, Vol. 3, #4, 1973.

17. R. T. LaPiere, "Attitudes Versus Action," Social Forces, #13, 1934, pp. 23-27. See also M. L. DeFleur and F. R. Westie, "Verbal Attitudes and Overt Acts: An Experiment on the Saliance of Attitudes, "Am. Soc. Rev., 1958, #23, pp. 667-73.

18. op. cit, see #14.

19. See for example D. J. Smith, Racial Disadvantage in Employment, PEP, #544; Jowell and Prescott-Clarke, "Racial Discrimination and White Collar Workers in Britain," Race, Vol XI, April 1970; U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Measuring Racial Discrimination in American Housing Markets: The Housing Market Practices Survey, Washington, 1975.

20. For studies of job search behaviour by racial minorities see: W. Anwar, Young People and the Job Market -- A Survey, (London: Commission for Racial Equality, 1982), D. Beetham, Immigrant School Leavers and the Youth Employment Service, (London: Institute of Race Relations, 1967), G. Courtenay, Local Labour Force Survey, (London: Social and Community Planning Research), S. Dex, "Job Search Methods and Ethnic Discrimination" in New Community, Vol. 7, No. 2 (1978). S. Feuchtwang, "Occupational Ghettos," in Economy and Society, Vol. II, No. 3 (1981), and Background Report in Contract Compliance, Equal Opportunity: Detecting Bias, City of Toronto Publication, March 1983.

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23. D. E. Kaun, "Black-White Differentials in the Quality of Work" in The Review of Black Political Economy, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1975, J. Goldlust and A. Richmond, A Multivariate Analysis of the Economic Adaptation of Immigrants in Toronto, Toronto: Institute for Behavioural Research, York University, 1973, Ontario Human Rights Commission, Race Relations Division, The Experience of Visible Minorities in the Work World: The Case of MBA Graduates, Toronto: 1983, A. Richmond and W. Lakbach, Factors in the Adjustment of Immigrants and their Descendents, Statistics Canada, Ottawa, 1980, J. Reitz, L. Calzavara and D. Dasko, Ethnic Inequality and Segregation in Jobs, Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, May 1981, J. Cameron, Unemployment in Southall, National Association for Asian Youth Publication, Britain, 1981-82, H. F. Price, "The Cost of Male Subemployment in the Black Community" in The Review of Black Political Economy, Vol. 6, No. 2, 1976.

24. Glen C. Cain, "The Economics of Discrimination: Part One" in Focus, Vol. 7, No. 2, 1984, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Institute for Research on Poverty, Human Work and Time Expenditures on "Regretables"; work time, waiting time, travel time and job search costs that do not directly lead to the production of utility, are greater for racial minorities. Thus the costs of these regretables act to increase the income gap between Whites and non-Whites and act, in accordance with greater unemployment and underemployment, to increase the costs and lower the net income of racial minorities.

25. Not all studies have found that West Indians and Indo-Pakistani groups are proportionally equally discriminated against. Joweil and Prescott-Clarke's 1969 study of correspondence testing found that Indo-Pakistanis were the least successful of racial minorities in receiving affirmative responses to apply for jobs (35% success compared to 69% success for West Indians with equal qualifications). Two other studies confirm to our results that there are equal levels of discrimination against West Indians and Indo-Pakistanis, (McIntosh and Smith, 1973-74 and Michael Firth, 1981). All of the above studies took place in England and were separated in time which may account for the differences. No comparable data was located in Canada.

26 Neil McIntosh and D. J. Smith, The Extent of Racial Discrimination, Vol. XL Broadsheet No. 547, PEP the Social Institute, London, 1974.

27 A. Szymanski in his study "Racial Discrimination and White Economic Gain," American Sociological Review, Vol. 41, pp. 403-14, 1976, used United States census data to determine if White employees experience any economic gain through racial discrimination against non-Whites. He concludes that Whites actually loose economically in the presence of racial discrimination and that racism undermines all working persons economic position.

APPENDIX A

The Evidence for Racial Discrimination in The United States and Great Britain

United States

Racial discrimination in employment has been frequently studied in societies such as the United States with its long standing problem of unequal participation of Blacks and Whites in the employment arena. For example, Kaun (1975) examined the quality of work as well as the quantity of work for White and Black workers, (1). After controlling for sex, age and education, he concluded that Blacks have lower incomes, higher unemployment and a more limited occupation range than comparable Whites. An earlier study also demonstrated that Blacks did not do as well as Whites in income regardless of their education level, (2). Blacks are also more likely to be the first fired during an economic recession and least likely to be rehired during economic recovery. In a longitudinal study of 744 Whites and 67 Blacks, A. G. King and C. B. Knapp found that Whites had a return of 2.7 thousand dollars for each extra year of education they received, (3). Comparable Blacks however had half of the White amount of return for each extra year in school. In absolute terms the Black lifetime earnings was from 171.38 thousand to 9.5 thousand dollars less than White's with equal education depending on the sector of the labor market both were in. They conclude that higher levels of return for post-secondary education investments for Blacks would increase post-secondary education investment by Blacks.

A study by C. B. Turner and B. F. Turner examined the reliability and validity of perceptions of racial discrimination within various occupations by comparing these perceptions to actual census data of occupations held by Blacks, (4). They found that both Black's and White's perceptions correspond very closely to the actual degree of exclusions of Blacks. However Blacks were still more accurate than White respondents.

Only one study using field testing procedures for the United States was located. Newman (1978) sent fictitious, matched resumes for Whites and Blacks for non-advertised positions to firms under the American Federal Contract Compliance Act which had affirmative action programs, (5). He found that for equivalent resumes, firms that responded to the resumes appeared to favor the Black respondent. He concluded that Federal monitoring of firms required to comply with human rights legislation does indeed alter their hiring practices based on race.

Great Britain

In many ways the situation in Great Britain more closely resembles that of Canada because both countries have received large numbers of visible minority immigrants in recent years. The Black population in the United States is the result of the slave period and has therefore a much older history.

Studies on unemployment patterns in Great Britain from 1963 to 1974 found that while the unemployment ratios between Whites and non-Whites changes over time when total unemployment rises, racial minority unemployment rates increase more than the total unemployment rate. Unemployment for Indo-Pakistani and West Indian youth were very high (20%) compared to 8% of all other youth, (6). The job levels of West Indian and Indo-Pakistani males were substantially lower than Whites and only 2% of professional and managerial positions were held by West Indians.

Indo-Pakistanis held 4%. Even members of racial minorities who hold degree qualifications, fail to obtain the job status of their White counterparts (79% of White to 31% minority males). Twenty-one percent of minority males who hold degree qualifications were doing manual labor compared to no White males. Earnings are likewise affected for racial minorities in Britain due to the lower levels of jobs held. As well, within each job type, racial minorities earn less than their White co-workers.

Nor has this trend diminished over time. R. Jenkins in a study conducted from 1980 to 1983 also found that employer's racism in selecting and laying-off personnel affected West Indian Blacks much more profoundly than Whites, (7). During economic recession and a changing technological base in industry in Britain, Blacks and Indo-Pakistanis experience greater unemployment than the national average. "Hidden" unemployment is estimated to be 40% higher than official figures for Blacks alone, (8).

Quasi-experimental investigations have been extensive in Britain. R. Jowell and P. Prescott-Clarke sent fictitious resumes for advertised positions in 4 job categories, sales, accountancy/office management, electrical engineering and secretarial positions, (9). They found that Indo-Pakistanis were the least successful, West Indians were more successful but other White Immigrants (i.e. Australians) were as successful as White Britains. Immigrants with better qualifications than the White applicant were not significantly more successful than the lesser qualified White applicant. A second resume testing study by Michael Firth also sent fictitious resumes for advertised positions for accounting and financial executives only, (10). This study sent 7 equally qualified and experienced applications to each position, 1 White British, 2 White Immigrants, 2 Blacks, (West-Indian and African) and 1 Indo-Pakistani resume. He found that British Whites have a much greater chance of obtaining a job while other White Immigrants were slightly less successful. However the race of the applicant had the greatest effect. Success rates for the racial minorities did not differ significantly from each other but did differ significantly from Whites. And finally the correspondence testing done by Neil McIntosh and D. J. Smith, (11) also found that White British applicants were significantly more successful in receiving positive responses than were White Immigrants (Italian). West Indians and Indo-Pakistanis were significantly less successful than both White British and the White Immigrant resumes. No differences were observed between the success rates of West Indians and Indo-Pakistanis. They conclude that it is "color prejudice which underlies most of the discrimination . . . " and not the country of origin, (p. 30).

Smith and McIntosh also had a field testing component to the above study. Again White British actors were sent to apply for jobs with either a White Immigrant, West Indian, Pakistani or Indian cohort. Actors were sent out in all possible combinations. A substantial level of discrimination was observed for all levels of jobs with the greatest discrimination occurring for unskilled labour. They conclude that West Indians and Indo-Pakistanis will experience job discrimination when applying for unskilled labour at least one-third of the time. The discrimination experienced by White Immigrants was less than racial minorities which accounted for over half of the total effect. No differences were observed in the response rates between the racial minority groups.

Richard Schaefer in an extensive and detailed look at the degree and composition of racial attitudes in Britain summarizes and compares several attitude studies (12). He formulated a combined scale and found that on a national sample 27.5% of respondents held strong prejudicial attitudes towards racial minorities, 19.3% held moderately racial prejudices and 48.9% held none.* In an analysis of the factors that best predict prejudicial attitudes he concludes that the primary reason for the negative images held by Whites of non-Whites was the perceived or real threat that they competed with Britons for scarce resources; especially jobs and housing. In Britain, prejudice is not limited to persons in the lower classes (the usual finding of U.S. data) but dispersed throughout them, possibly due to a more even distribution of non-Whites in higher status jobs. And, a Briton's racial attitude is related to his or her political ideology. There were higher levels of prejudicial attitudes for persons who were associated with the Conservative political organization. Education was not found to contribute to tolerance or prejudice when compared to class and ideology. And lastly, in a 1981 survey of population attitudes in Britain, with a sample in excess of 2,000, it was found that persons of both White and non-White status felt that racial minorities were disadvantaged and experienced prejudice in Britain, (13).

In this brief review of American and British research on racial discrimination it has been found that non-Whites experience discrimination in employment through lower incomes, greater unemployment and less upward mobility.

Where there is legislated and monitored Affirmative Action, as for those American firms holding Federal Government contracts, Blacks do gain in job access.

Whereas in Britain, where there is legislation prohibiting discrimination but no systematic, nation-wide Affirmative Action Programs, there has been little change in the employment situation for racial minorities.

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*Balance of 4.3% responded that they didn't know, to some scale items.

Footnotes to Appendix A

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2. "The Unemployment of Non-White Americans" in The Review of Black Political Economy, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1976, authored by the Congressional Budget Office, Washington, D.C.

3. A. G. King and C. B. Knapp, "Race and the Determinants of Lifetime Earnings," Industrial and Labour Relations Review, Vol. 31, No. 3, 1978.

4. C. B. Turner and B. F. Turner, "Racial Discrimination in Occupations, Perceived and Actual," Phylon, Vol. 42, 1981.

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9. Roger Jowell and P. Prescott-Clarke, "Racial Discrimination and White-Collar Workers in Britain," Race, Vol. II, No. 3, 1969-1970.

10. Michael Firth, "Racial Discrimination In the British Labour Market," Industrial and Labour Relations Review, Vol. 34, No. 2, 1981.

11. Neil McIntosh and D. J. Smith, The Extent of Racial Discrimination, Vol. XL, Broadsheet No. 547 PEP, The Social Institute, London, 1974.

12. Richard T. Schaefer, The Extent and Content of Racial Prejudice in Great Britain, R. & E. Research Association, California, 1976.

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APPENDIX B

Age and Sex Differences

Introduction

There were some age and sex differences reflected in the data for both the In-Person testing and the Telephone Testing. The differences in patterns between males and females, and also by age groups are suggestive but require further study before definitive statements can be made. They are presented here merely to indicate that further research on these variables are necessary.

Sex Differences

1) **Direct In-Person Testing**

There were differences in the patterns between males and females in the In-Person testing but these patterns are also a factor of age.

In the Junior Males more Blacks got offers than Whites (2 and 5 respectively).* For Junior Females the trend was the opposite, there were more White Female offers, 14, and only 1 offer for the junior Black female. Among the male and female junior testers the rate of differential treatment is greatest for Junior Females. It was proportionately almost 3 times as great as that of the junior males.

For the senior teams, the trend was reversed. The senior Black males had no offers while the senior Black females had 4 offers.

Differential treatment rates for senior males and females do not vary substantially (8 and 11 respectively). (See Table A for results).

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* The relatively higher success rate of the junior Black male in obtaining four offers to the White's 2, may relate to the fact that the young men were applying for unsophisticated jobs. In three out of the four offers, the employer/interviewer was a woman in her thirties. That the sex factor may have played a role is attended to by his White partner who was filling out an application while the Black was being interviewed in one of these instances. He corroborated the Black testers view that there were "sex vibes in the air." The same effect may have influenced the senior Black woman; three of her four offers came from men. The senior men, due to the nature of the jobs they were applying for, were in almost all instances interviewed by men. The junior women who had the highest offer discrimination rate were interviewed as often by men as by women. The White applicant's 14 offers were negotiated almost evenly between men and women interviewers.

TABLE A

Job Offers by Age & Sex

Offers	Jr. Male		Sr. Male		Jr. Female		Sr. Female		Totals	
No offer to either (Includes 10 cases of both offered)	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
	47	23.4	36	17.9	46	22.9	36	17.9	165	82.1
Offer to White	2	1	8	4	14	7	3	1.5	27	13.4
Offer to Black	4	2	0	0	1	.5	4	2	9	4.5
Totals:	53	26.4	44	21.9	61	30.3	43	21.4	201	100

These results suggest that young Black women and older Black men are the main targets of discrimination. On the whole, the small numbers of offers in each age and sex category make it difficult to assess if the factors of age and sex act independently or only in combination in producing the differential results for Blacks and Whites.

There may also be factors of the labour market contributing to the results. That is different sectors of employment may act differently toward Blacks and Whites. As noted earlier, there were no offers to Black males for managerial positions. Likewise the only offers to Black males in the food and restaurant trade were for kitchen personnel.

And finally there is an additional variable at work in the In-Person field testing, that being the sex of the interviewer. While we could not test for an effect of this variable it may act to contribute to the patterns of differences between males and females of both majority and racial minority status.

Further research, specifically focussed on the sex variable and its effects on racial discrimination is required.

2) Telephone Testing

In the full sample space (N = 237) females had fewer jobs open when they called than males (19.7% & 6.7% respectively). This may be due to there being a tighter labour market for females than males. That is there may be more applicants and fewer jobs for females in general (see Table B).

TABLE B

Response Rates for all Calls: By Sex in percent

Response	White Canadian		White Immigrant		Black West Indian		Indo-Pakistani	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Open	91.6	78.6	76.7	53.0	64.2	39.3	52.5	41.9
Screened-open	1.7	1.7	4.2	3.4	2.5	22.2	5.8	12.0
Closed	6.7	19.7	19.1	43.6	33.3	38.5	41.7	46.1
Total:	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Males: $N = 120$ X^2 51.89 (DF. 6, p = .0000)

Females: $N = 117$ X^2 66.46 (DF. 6, p = .0000)

If we examine only those employers who discriminated against at least one of our callers we can see more clearly the different patterns in discrimination (see Table C) among the four groups. White Canadian males and females received almost equal proportion of open and closed responses and neither were screened.

White immigrant females had as many "closed" responses as did the Black and Indo-Pakistani females. The White immigrant male however had less than one-half of the closed responses when compared to Black and Indo-Pakistani males:

TABLE C

When Discrimination was Present: By Sex in percent

Response	White Canadian		White Immigrant		Black West Indian		Indo-Pakistani	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Open	95.3	96.6	67.2	45.8	43.8	18.6	21.9	23.7
Screened-open	0	0	4.7	5.1	3.1	39.0	9.4	22.0
Closed	4.7	3.4	28.1	49.2	53.1	42.4	48.8	54.2
Total:	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Males: $N = 64$ X^2 79.65 (DF. 6, $p = .0000$)

Females: $N = 59$ X^2 107.49 (DF. 6, $p = .0000$)

(see fig. 1 and fig. 2 for X^2 cells).

Whereas the White immigrant males and females were subjected to approximately equal proportions of screening, in the two racial minorities, females were consistently screened more often than the males. Both the Black West Indian and Indo-Pakistani males and females had approximately the same number of "closed" jobs. Whereas in the White immigrant callers group females had 49.2% of the jobs closed while males had only 28.1% of the jobs "closed".

One of the difficulties in understanding these differences in the degree and type of discrimination experienced by different sexes within groups is the non-equivalence of labour markets sectors between males and females. The females have a secretarial-clerical sector of 24.1% that has no equivalent male category. Likewise males have categories of jobs that do not appear for females, such as mechanics and drivers.

It is possible that White immigrant females are seen as equally undesirable as racial minority females for secretarial-clerical positions. There is no equivalent White collar category for males so the difference in White immigrant males and females "closed" responses may be due to the presence of this clerical sector for females.

The more equal distribution of "closed" responses for the two racial minorities may be due to more racially based discrimination against non-White males in all sectors in comparison to the White males.

As in the In-Person testing it is difficult to be conclusive about the sex differences within and between the groups. As our sex differences analysis was post-hoc we mention them to demonstrate the need for more systematic research on the sex-race variable as it pertains to employment.

It may be the case that different sectors of the labour market require different types of interventions to ensure racial equality in the workplace for males and females.

Figure I

Expected and Observed X^2 cell for

Women when Discrimination was Present

	White Canadian	White Immigrant	Black West Indian	Indo-Pakistani	
Open	57	27	11	14	Observed
	27.3	27.3	27.3	27.3	Expected
Screened-Open	0	3	23	13	Observed
	9.8	9.8	9.8	9.8	Expected
Closed	2	29	25	32	Observed
	22.0	22.0	22.0	22.0	Expected
Column Totals	59	59	59	59	

X^2 107 491 (DF 6, p= .0000)

N-59 (Women only)

Figure 2

Expected and Observed X^2 cell for

Men when Discrimination was Present

	White Canadian	White Immigrant	Black West Indian	Indo-Pakistani	
Open	61	43	28	14	Observed
	36.5	36.5	36.5	36.5	Expected
Screened-Open	0	3	2	6	Observed
	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8	Expected
Closed	3	18	34	44	Observed
	24.8	24.8	24.8	24.8	Expected
Column Totals	64	64	64	64	

X^2 7.654 (DF 6, p= .0000)

N-64 (Men only)

APPENDIX C

Examples of Resumes

Black Female – Business Resume*

Personal

Born: May 21, 1956
Married
Canadian Citizen

Objective

A position that will permit me to expand my current skills and develop new expertise in business management.

Employment History

July 82 to Mar. 84

Council of Bookkeepers
108 Bloor Street West,
Toronto
Position: Office Manager

- Interviewing and hiring of secretarial staff.
- Supervision and training of office staff.
- Executive secretary to the Board of Directors, responsibilities included taking of minutes, preparation of agendas and minutes, maintaining proper corporate records.
- Skills include typing, dicta-typing, shorthand, filing.

May 80 to June 82

NLC Productions
Toronto Dominion Centre,
Toronto
Position: Executive Secretary

- Secretary to the President, duties included typing, dicta-typing, filing, reception of clients
- Arranged Business dinners and luncheons
- Supervision of clerical staff
- Co-ordination of office procedures.

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*Note: Names and firms on resumes have been changed to retain confidentiality.

Sept. 79 to Apr. 80

Certified Accountants Society of Ontario
100 Yonge St.
Toronto
Position: Secretary

- Duties included typing, dicta-typing, filing, reception.
- Assisted in the maintenance of corporate records.
- Preparation of reports.

Dec. 75 to Aug. 79

Canadian Bank
Bank Tower,
Toronto
Position: Secretary / Receptionist

- General secretarial functions for Corporate Banking Services.
- Appointment booking, screening of appointment requests.
- Report Preparation.

Career Objective

To complete a B.A. in Business Administration in conjunction with gaining continued business experience.

Education

Eastern High School of Commerce
16 Phin Avenue
Toronto
Grade 13, advanced business and secretarial programme diploma 1975.

Atkinson College, York University
4700 Keele Street
Toronto
Part-time evening studies toward a B.A. completed two courses in Economics to date.

References

Black Male – Manager

Personal

Date of Birth: February 8, 1951
Marital Status: Married
Citizenship: Canadian

Education

York Mills Collegiate
Toronto
Grade 13 arts and science, 1970

Centennial College of Applied Arts and Technology
Warden Woods, Scarborough.
General Business Management Diploma, 1977

Employment History

Feb. 80 to Jan. 84 — Hanson's Decorating Centre
Scarborough Town Centre Store
Store Manager
- Staff training and supervision
- inventory control
- payroll and bank deposits
- promotion and sales development

Aug. 77 to Dec. 79 — Yum Yum Burgers of Canada
Eglinton Square
Scarborough.
Assistant Manager
- staff training and supervision
- balance of cash receipts
- ordering and inventory control
- public relations

Apr. 76 to June 77 — City Heating and Plumbing Services
Lawrence Ave. West,
Toronto
Customer Services Coordinator.
- posting and scheduling service calls
- assessing emergency calls and dispatching

- inventory Cardex
- estimates

Sept. 71 to Aug. 73

Coopers Milk Stores
Warden Avenue
Scarborough
Retail Store Services

- taking orders from stores
- expediting
- pricing

References

APPENDIX D

Notes on Correspondence Testing

Correspondence testing allows fairly tight control over most variables and permits relatively easy manipulation of the variable of interest, that of race. The first study to utilize correspondence testing was the 1969 British study of Roger Jowell and Patricia Prescott-Clarke, (1). They sent out resumes for advertised positions of White collar middle income range occupations such as sales, marketing, accounting and office management. In total they applied to 128 jobs (two resumes were sent to each job for a total of 256 resumes). They failed to get responses for both resumes from only 4 of the 128 jobs and thus were able to draw reasonable conclusions from their results. The British born White had the greatest success, the West Indians were next and the Indo-Pakistani resumes were the lease successful. A later study again in Britain done by Neil McIntosh and David J. Smith (1974) (2), also sent in response to advertised positions, found that about one-third of the employers failed to respond to the resumes. Michael Firth's 1981 study sent fictitious resumes for accountant and financial executive vacancies, (3). In this study 7 resumes were sent to each of 282 jobs for a total of 1,974 resumes. He found that his results reflected the same pattern of discrimination as the Jowell and Prescott-Clarke study and McIntosh and Smith's.

One of the major differences in all of these above studies is that the rate of response continuously declined from 97% in 1969, to 66% in 1977, to almost 50% by 1981. All of the above studies were done in Great Britain. An American study done by Newman in 1978 had a similar low response rate (4).

These low response rates were also found in our pre-test. It was our intent to develop and submit resumes for advertised positions in various middle-upper income range job categories such as program analysts, hospital administrators, hotel and restaurant managers, engineers and finance personnel. A review of such advertisements revealed that experience expectations were often of a very specific nature which would require a specific resume and covering letter for each position. A pretest was enacted to test the feasibility of committing time and resources to developing and submitting resumes for these types of positions.

One of the most frequently advertised positions was that of financial management. A resume was developed that could, with a few minor alterations, be utilized for a variety of positions including controllers, financial analysts, general accountants, cost accountants, financial planner, etc. Professional associations were contacted to determine the correct education and job experience for persons who would hold 4th level R.I.A. accreditation. Three equal but different resumes were developed. All three completed resumes were reviewed by a practicing professional accountant of a large accounting firm. They were felt to be equal in experience and qualifications and of a sufficient caliber to attract interest of potential employers but not so similar as to arouse suspicion. Covering letters were developed in the same manner. Each covering letter was altered slightly to highlight the applicant's qualification for the particular job. In addition, the covering letter contained information on the hypothetical applicant's immigration status. Names of applicants were devised to maximize the identification of the applicant as being of one racial group or another.

For each advertised position, three resumes were sent in response, White Canadian of Anglo descent, White Immigrant and either West Indian or an Indo-Pakistani immigrant.

In all ten jobs were applied for. Five Indo-Pakistani applicants, five West Indian applicants, ten White Canadian and ten White Immigrant resumes were sent for a total of thirty resumes. Of these thirty resumes, two applicants received requests for an interview. (see Table D). There were 5 rejections received and twenty-four no-response As no conclusions can be drawn from no-response cases, only 5 of the ten cases (for a response rate of 40%) could have been used in a sample space. In order to complete a sufficient number of cases (estimated at approximately 100 for each job category tested), a minimum of approximately three hundred jobs would have been required (or 900 resumes) for each type of job. With such a poor response rate there was insufficient time and resources to develop a full and meaningful test. We recognize as a consequence that a large sector of the labour market remains unexamined in this study and strongly recommend that this aspect of discrimination in employment be pursued in the future.

TABLE D

PRETEST OF MIDDLE INCOME ADVERTISED POSITIONS:

Position		Results			
		Black West Indian	Indo-Pakistani	White Immigrant	White Canadian
1.	Financial Analyst	no application	rejection	rejection	no response
2.	Controller	no response	no application	no response	no response
3.	Accountant	no application	rejection	rejection	rejection
4.	Accountant	no application	no response	no response	no response
5.	Corporate Controller	no response	no application	no response	no response
6.	Accountant	no application	interview request	no response	no response
7.	Cost Accountant	no response	no application	no response	no response
8.	Financial Planner	no application	no response	no response	no response
9.	Accountant	no response	no application	no response	no response
10	Corporate Controller	no response	no application	no response	interview request

Footnotes to Appendix D

1. Roger Jowell and P. Prescott-Clarke, "Racial Discrimination and White-collar Workers in Britain." In Race, Vol. 11, No. 3, 1969-70.

2. Neil McIntosh and D. J. Smith. The Extent of Racial Discrimination vol. XL, Broadsheet #547. PEP The Social Science Institute, 1974, London.

3. Michael Firth, "Racial Discrimination in the British Labor Market," in Industrial and Labour Relations Review, Vol. 34, No. 2, 1981.

4. Jerry M. Newman, "Discrimination in Recruitment: An Empirical Analysis" in Industrial and Labour Relations Review, Vol. 32, No. 1, 1978.

APPENDIX E

Statistics and Calculations

Section A:

Fig. 1: Expected and Observed X^2 cell for Full Sample: Telephone Testing

Response	White Canadian	White Immigrant	Black West Indian	Indo-Pakistani	
Open	202 147.8	154 147.8	123 147.8	112 147.8	Observed Expected
Screened-Open	4 15.8	9 15.8	29 15.8	21 15.8	Observed Expected
Closed	31 73.5	74 73.5	85 73.5	104 73.5	Observed Expected
Column Totals	237 237	237 237	237 237	237 237	Observed Expected

X^2 96.569 (DF. 6, p = .0000)
N = 237 (men and women)

While we recognize that we have less control of internal validity, quasi-experimental design permits more generalizability, or external validity, of results.

We believe our results are therefore more reflective of interactions in the natural social environment than controlled experimental design permits.

One of the difficulties we encountered in our analysis was that there is no ideal statistical test for a repeated measures, categorical variables design. We thus had to go to the best approximation and procedure. We decided to use X^2 as it is the one best known.

The main assumption of the chi squared test is that each observation appears only once in a cell, the criteria of independence. In a repeated measures design like ours where each job was called by four callers, each job appears four times in the X^2 cell. However if we take the observation as the response received by each caller and not the job, we have only one independent observation. A similar format change was used by McIntosh and Smith (1974) already cited in the text.

Section B

Fig. 2: Expected and Observed X^2 cell for Between Groups: Telephone Testing

Full Sample

	White Canadian	White Immigrant	
Open	202	154	Observed
	178.0	178.0	Expected
Screened-Open	4	9	
	6.5	6.5	
Closed	31	74	
	52.5	52.5	
Column Totals	237	237	

X^2 26.005 (DF 2, p = .0000)
N = 237 (men and women)

When Employers Discriminated

	White Canadian	White Immigrant	
Open	118	70	Observed
	94.0	94.0	Expected
Screened-Open	0	6	
	3.0	3.0	
Closed	5	47	
	26.0	26.0	
Column Totals	123	123	

X^2 52.178 (DF 2, p = .0000)
N = 123 (men and women)

	White Immigrant	Black West Indian	
Open	154	123	Observed
	138.5	138.5	Expected
Screened-Open	9	29	
	19.0	19.0	
Closed	74	85	
	79.5	79.5	
Column Totals	237	237	

X^2 14.757 (DF 2, p = .0000)
N = 237 (men and women)

	White Immigrant	Black West Indian	
Open	70	39	Observed
	54.5	54.5	Expected
Screened-Open	6	25	
	15.5	15.5	
Closed	47	59	
	53.0	53.0	
Column Totals	123	123	

X^2 21.820 (DF 2, p = .0000)
N = 123 (men and women)

Full Sample

	Black West Indian	Indo-Pakistani	
Open	123 117.5	112 117.5	Observed Expected
Screened-Open	29 25.0	21 25.0	
Closed	85 94.5	104 94.5	
Column Totals	237	237	

X^2 3.705 (DF 2, p = .157)
N = 237 (men and women)

When Employers Discriminated

	Black West Indian	Indo-Pakistani	
Open	39 33.5	28 33.5	Observed Expected
Screened-Open	25 22 0	19 22.0	
Closed	59 67.5	76 67.5	
Column Totals	123	123	

X^2 4.765 (DF 2, p = .09)
N = 123 (men and women)

Section C:

Fig. 3: Expected and Observed X^2 cell for Those Jobs Where Discrimination Occured: Telephone Testing

Response	White Canadian	White Immigrant	Black West Indian	Indo-Pakistani	
Open	118 63.8	70 63.8	39 63.8	28 63.8	Observed Expected
Screened-Open	0 46.8	6 46.8	25 46.8	19 46.8	Observed Expected
Closed	5 46.8	47 46.8	59 46.8	76 46.8	Observed Expected
Column Totals	123 123	123 123	123 123	123 123	Observed Expected

X^2 116.992 (DF 6, p = .0000)
N = 123 (men and women)

Section D:

Fig. 4: Calculations of Ratio Proceeded as Follows:

Blacks	Black West Indians	51.9%	-	Open
	Full Sample	12.2%	-	Screened Open
	Phone Testing	64.1%		Total Percent of Getting a Job Interview
	Black West Indian Field Testing % of Job Offers	9.5%	-	Total Percent of Jobs Offered

64.1% of 120 Jobs = 13
Of these 13, there is a 9.5% chance of getting the job.
9.5% of 13 = 1.2 or 1

Whites	White Canadian	85.2%	-	Open
	Full Sample	1.7%	-	Screened Open
	Phone Testing	86.9%		Total Percent of Getting a Job Interview
	White Canadian Field Testing % of Job Offers	18.4%	-	Total Percent of Jobs Offered

86.9% of 20 = 17
Of these 17, there is an 18.4% chance of getting the job.
18.4% of 17 = 3

Therefore, for each 20 jobs called, the White Canadian has a 15% chance of getting a job, while the Black West Indian has a 5% chance of getting that job, a ratio of 3 to 1.

Fig. 5: Index of Overall Success Rate:

Field

White	27 + 10 = 37 of 201	27	–	only White offer
Black	9 + 10 = 19 of 201	9	–	only Black
		10	–	both White and Black

Phone

White	202 + 4 = 206 out of 237	202	–	Open
		4	–	Screened Open
Black	123 + 29 = 152 out of 237	123	–	Open
		29	–	Screened Open

Total Success over all trials:

N = 201 + 237 = 438

White 37 + 206 = 243/438 = .55 or 55%

19 + 152 = 171/438 = .39 or 39%

(expected success = success rate of qualified applicant of other race)

Difference 16 or 16%